

Evolution and Change in Kaikoura:

Responses to Tourism Development

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Kaikoura Case Study

Report No.6/1998



LINCOLN
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Te Whare Wānaka O Aoraki



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Summary

International tourism began increasing in Kaikoura in 1988 when the first whalewatching venture started. Since then it has grown into a large sector of the local economy and currently, people in Kaikoura are mostly positive about tourism. This study documented the changes that tourism has brought to the Kaikoura community, however, the development of tourism is, in itself, an effect of changes that occurred across New Zealand because of restructuring, and technological change. These changes have had a large impact on rural areas right across the country. Because the development of tourism in Kaikoura is so closely linked to the changes caused by these reforms it is difficult to separate out what has been caused by tourism and what has been caused by restructuring and technological change in general.

Tourism in Kaikoura has grown as a result of several factors. First, Kaikoura's environment is both spectacular and geographically unusual which brings a range of marine life within easy reach of shore. Technological change has made travel and communications easier in recent years so that geographically isolated places, such as Kaikoura, are easily contacted in seconds using telephones, email and the worldwide web. At the same time, it is becoming cheaper and easier to visit the more isolated and distant parts of the globe - a fact which has benefited New Zealand tourism. These two factors provide Kaikoura with access to international tourism markets. A third, very important factor produced the need for the industry. Economic restructuring affected Kaikoura significantly and focused the attention of people on the need for employment, a factor which adds to their enthusiasm for tourism.

Restructuring in Kaikoura was especially hard on local Maori who were most vulnerable to the loss of employment. Through a range of developments, one of which included Whale Watch, local Maori moved from a position of relative powerlessness, and low socio-economic status, to become a major employer and economic force in the community. Thus, one of the most obvious changes that occurred in Kaikoura as a result of tourism development has been the change in status of local Maori.

The tourism literature highlights the importance of residents' perceptions of tourism in any assessment of tourism development, and, overall, residents in Kaikoura are positive about tourism. In fact, Kaikoura shows all the signs of being at Butler's (1980) *involvement* stage of tourism development. *Involvement* is characterised by the positive attitude of residents, and an inclination towards further tourism development. At this stage also, tourism is mostly locally owned and operated by a number of small-scale businesses, with the benefits of tourism spread relatively well throughout the community. These are the characteristics of tourism in Kaikoura. Many local people, with their strong focus on employment, want more tourism development as means of solving the area's unemployment problems.

However the suggestion of a new (outside owned) hotel development and the talk of Kaikoura becoming a possible wharf for fast ferries from Wellington indicates that tourism development in Kaikoura could begin to take on new characteristics over the next few years. Butler (1980) suggests that following *involvement* is a *development* stage where outside investors come into the area and begin to build large-scale tourism projects associated with escalation in tourist numbers. It is during this phase that major changes are forced onto the community. The possibility of new tourism projects funded from outside the community may indicate the beginning of this phase of development in Kaikoura. This is clearly something

that many residents do not want for Kaikoura, however, at the same time members of the community are also constantly thinking about employment opportunities in the area and the attraction of tourism development on this basis alone is, for some individuals at least, very high.

Of importance to residents are the economic, employment and social benefits of tourism. Tourism is bringing significant money into the area and is providing work for many people, although the amount and regularity of the work can be a problem for individuals who rely on it as their main source of income. In addition, and perhaps because, tourism is still in its infancy in Kaikoura, many operators talk about how much they enjoy meeting the tourists.

Seasonality is a factor that impacts on individuals and on the community in a variety of ways. The fluctuation in visitor numbers increases the need for individuals to work long hours during the tourist season which wears people down. A low season (in winter) provides the community with breathing space where they can return to a slow pace of life, know most of the people that they meet in the street and park easily anywhere in town. The low season allows some operators to have a long holiday and the chance to travel overseas. In fact, for some groups of residents who can afford it, tourism in the town has increased their propensity to travel overseas. Going away depends on either finding someone to mind the business or on closing the business down for the time that people are away. Both strategies are used in Kaikoura.

The Kaikoura community is at once close knit and much divided. The small size and isolation of the people who live in the area means that generally, people know each other. However, the community also contains a wide range of divisions that are largely a result of the history of the area. In addition to divisions there are different levels of involvement in politics. Some parts of the community are better represented than others on the local council and because of the nature of local government in New Zealand, this means that some parts of the community have no obvious and comfortable fora in which to express their views. In addition, many locals appear to think of tourism only as an economic sector or business and therefore they do not consider that the community as a whole needs to be involved in the process of planning for tourism.

Without outside help, the people for whom tourism is currently being developed are not necessarily the ones who will benefit most in the long term. Some in the community feel that they need outside investment in order to open up new tourist markets. They like the idea of attracting higher paying tourists who will require high levels of service and facilities such as an upmarket hotel - both things that will need considerable investment. The difficulty with this kind of development in a town with the socio-economic and historical characteristics of Kaikoura is that outside investment will almost certainly mean outside control. Past experience of externally-owned business indicates that it is much less committed than locally-owned businesses to local development when economic conditions get tough.

The development of an upmarket hotel would also mean a change to the tourism product currently provided by Kaikoura. Backpackers and free independent tourists (FITs) currently enjoy the kinds of service and friendliness that Kaikoura has to offer. Changing the tourist type and type of hotel will change the way that local operators relate to their customers. It will also make the kind of service that they provide less attractive to the backpacker and FIT market, who are looking for a more personal touch which they currently get in most of the

businesses in Kaikoura. Bringing in new tourists will thus change the tourist product considerably from what it is at the present time. Furthermore the personal, people-related rewards that many people talk about are likely to diminish if the tourist type changes since higher paying tourists may see the social interactions in purely economic terms.

The important questions in relation to tourism are: What are the main groups in the community? Why do they want tourism? How can they achieve their aims for the least amount of negative impact for them and for investors? As yet, there is little sign that the community has given these questions sufficient consideration. Local people are also constrained by a general lack of resources - both human and financial. This means that there are few resources available for leading the way in planning for tourism growth in ways that sustain local involvement and high satisfaction for both locals and visitors. In addition, the current planning legislation does not appear to work to the advantage of local people. It appears, for example, that it is relatively easier for outsiders with experience of the Resource Management Act to come in and develop new business than it is for locals to set up small businesses.

Kaikoura is at a crossroads in its development: it has successfully managed its involvement stage and now there are signs that the development stage is occurring. If tourism is to grow and retain both its personal character and broad distribution of benefits then specific attention to planning is required to manage future growth.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Overview

This report is the sixth in the series produced by the Tourism Research and Education Centre (TREC), Lincoln. Its primary focus is on the way that tourism has affected the Kaikoura community and how that community has adapted to the changes that tourism has brought. As research progressed, it became obvious that the social structure of the community and the historical context have a direct bearing on both the way that tourism has developed and the way that the impacts are felt. Tourism, particularly international tourism, is the most recent form of resource development in Kaikoura. It developed against a backdrop of large economic and social changes which occurred across New Zealand and, indeed, all over the world (Kelsey, 1995; Le Heron and Pawson, 1996; Lane, 1994; Gray, 1994). It has proved difficult to separate the impacts of tourism from the impacts of other changes such as the decline of the public sector, technological change, the renewal of Maori cultural identity, the changes in environmental legislation, and changes in the roles and responsibilities of local government. All of these things have come to the fore during the last 15 years and they are linked in the minds of local people to each other and to the development of tourism in Kaikoura. In this context, tourism itself is an adaptation to the effects of restructuring at the same time as it creates impacts to which the local community have to adapt. Thus, tourism is just another form of resource use in a long line of resource uses in Kaikoura such as farming, fishing and forestry and is both a cause and an effect of change.

Section two of this report outlines the methods used to collect and elucidate the information discussed in subsequent sections. The methods used were primarily ethnographic in nature. This approach allowed a broad focus on the way that individuals and the community as a whole have changed and the reasons why that change has occurred. Towards the end of the research period, a telephone survey was developed to further ensure that the full range of community members were contacted as part of the research. This questionnaire was designed to find out how individuals within the community see tourism in terms of its costs and benefits, how they have adapted to tourism and how they feel about further tourism development. Also included in this section is an outline of the limitations of the research.

The third section discusses the geographical, and historical contexts in which tourism has developed in Kaikoura. The unique geography of the Kaikoura coast provides the conditions favoured by the marine mammals which attract tourists to the area. The spectacular landscape also adds to the town's attractiveness. Kaikoura's social history underlies the current community structures and issues, which, in turn, affect the way that tourism is managed. The last part of the history section looks at the nationwide phenomenon of restructuring and its effect on Kaikoura. An understanding of restructuring is vital to understanding locals' views of tourism and what they expect to gain from tourism development in their town.

The fourth section looks at the community as it is now, the issues facing Kaikoura and the current structure of tourism in the area. Section five looks at local perceptions of tourism which, overall, are generally positive at the current time. However, some groups within the community are unhappy with the way that tourism has developed in the town. The sixth section looks at some of the issues that the Kaikoura community faces in trying to manage the development and impacts of tourism in the local area, while section seven contains a discussion of these findings, some conclusions and some key indicators for tourism planning.

Chapter 2

Methods

2.1 Introduction

This section outlines the methods used to elicit the information provided in the following sections. The information for this report comes from both qualitative and quantitative sources. Qualitative data were collected over two three-month periods when the researcher lived in Kaikoura. These data included interviews, informal conversations and observations along with reading of newspapers, local historical material from the Kaikoura Museum and resources pertaining to Kaikoura in the local library. A quantitative telephone survey of randomly selected Kaikoura residents was conducted during February 1998 to augment the qualitative data.

2.2 Qualitative Methods

Much information in this report comes from 64 in-depth interviews conducted with a wide range of Kaikoura residents between July 1997 and March 1998. Respondents were contacted largely by using snowball sampling, where the researcher asked the people she met who they would recommend for future interviews. By asking for information about each suggested person, she was able to target people from a range of socio-economic backgrounds. Interviewees also varied in age from 16 to 88 years, and included tourism operators, social workers, public servants, tradespeople, retirees, high school students, and individuals employed in tourism in Kaikoura as well as those not involved in it. The researcher tape-recorded interviews where possible, and took detailed notes, many of which were later transcribed onto computer. An interview took anywhere from 30 minutes to four hours, depending mostly on the stamina, interest and time of the respondent(s). Most took one to one and a half hours. The main aim of the interviews was to build up a detailed picture of community structure, function and history as well as to understand individual perceptions of tourism in Kaikoura and the underlying reasons for those perceptions.

In addition, the researcher spent much time in informal conversation with local people and tourists in observing daily life and events in Kaikoura. Any information that seemed useful was recorded in a diary kept while living and participating in life in Kaikoura from July to October 1997 and from January to April 1998. This kind of information was useful for substantiating interview data and for piecing together community structure and function. It was also of some use in understanding the patterns of tourist movement around the town and the kinds of interactions that tourists and locals have with each other.

Further information came from reading both published and unpublished resources kept in the local library and in the local museum. These two places try to keep a record of any research done in Kaikoura, and they also have many resources outlining local family histories. The museum also has an excellent collection of photographs which allowed the

researcher to understand the physical changes that have happened in the town over the years. A further source of information has come from reading about New Zealand history, and tourism in other parts of the world. As well as providing key information about the social context of tourism development in Kaikoura, the qualitative data served to inform the resident questionnaire.

2.3 Quantitative Methods

A local residents' survey tested a few of the qualitative findings across a larger sample of Kaikoura residents. A copy of the questionnaire can be found in Appendix 1. This survey was administered by telephone to a random sample of residents. Three interviewers (post-graduate students from Lincoln University) administered the survey and were briefed on the aims and objectives of the survey and on their ethical responsibilities. Residents were rung, usually between 6.00pm and 9.30pm. To ensure a random sample, the person answering the call was asked for the person who lived at that address who was over 15 years of age and who had the next birthday. If the appropriate person was not available, the phone number was dialled again later. Up to ten calls were made to reach the correct person, and many respondents had to be called back at least twice. Call backs could happen at any time of the day, depending on the preferences of the sample respondent or on the advice of the person who answered the phone. Calls were made during the day, however the rate of unanswered calls was much higher during the day time, so this practice was not continued.

Telephone numbers came from the 1997 telephone book. Every third residential number was copied from the book and put into a Microsoft Excel file where it was sorted by number so that there was no way of interviewers knowing whom they were ringing. The spreadsheets produced using this process allowed interviewers to keep track of the outcome of their calls. Table 1 shows a breakdown of those outcomes. Only 60 per cent of the 481 calls made actually yielded a completed survey questionnaire. Eighteen per cent of calls ended in a refusal. Another 15 per cent of the numbers rung remained unanswered by the required respondent. A significant number of phone numbers had been disconnected. In all cases where the respondent was not contacted, that phone number was replaced with another.

Table 1
Telephone Survey Breakdown of Numbers Called

Total	Completed	Refusals	No answer	Disconnected	Other
481	291	85	71	27	4
%	60	18	15	6	1

The questionnaire data give some idea of the way that attitudes and behaviours are spread throughout the population, however, during the course of the survey, interviewers noted that there was some internal inconsistency within individual answers. For example, people sometimes said that they worked in tourism and then said that they got no personal benefits from it. Another individual said that there had been no personal cost for her from tourism. Later in the course of the phone call she mentioned that she and her family had decided to leave Kaikoura because a rising cost of living, and increased heavy traffic passing their

home meant that Kaikoura was no longer a good place to bring up children. This highlights one of the problems of telephone surveys. Interviewers can be ringing people when they are preoccupied with something else and talk to them about a topic that they have not thought about much before. In these situations, respondents' answers are not usually well thought out. However, the survey does indicate the general trends within the population of the Kaikoura area and interview data helped to develop and elucidate the findings of the survey data.

2.4 Triangulation of Methods and Ethical Considerations

A wide range of methods have been used to understand the impacts of tourism on the Kaikoura community and the ways in which the community has adapted to those changes. Denzin (1989) calls this triangulation and argues that using a range of methods helps to minimise the shortcomings inherent in each. Quantitative methods are very good for gathering data from a wide range of people who may also have widely differing views of tourism (for example). They are also good for assessing how those views are distributed across a community. Quantitative methods therefore are an excellent way to investigate a small number of relatively simple questions across a large group of people. However, quantitative methods are not good for understanding the effect of the context from which respondents are answering those questions.

In comparison, qualitative methods, including unstructured or semi-structured interviews and participant observation, allow a much greater depth of understanding. However, this depth is only possible across a relatively small sample simply because of the time involved in conducting and analysing unstructured interviews. Similarly, the use of written sources, including histories, family records and previous research reports, can provide good background information which may not necessarily come to light in the use of other methods. Taken altogether, using a range of methods is more likely to yield both more reliable and more valid results overall (Simmons, 1985).

2.5 Limitations

This research is focused primarily on the impacts of tourism on the Kaikoura community. It looks at many other aspects of community life and structure but always with the intention of understanding how and why the community and groups within that community have adapted to tourism in the way that they have. The limitations of this research include the perennial problems of limited time and resources. The ethnographic research was largely carried out by one individual, an outsider by community standards. In addition, the researcher stayed in Kaikoura for only six months, which is a very short time by the standards of this rural area, and by the standards of ethnographic research.

While every effort was made to contact a wide range of people in the community, this was still potentially limited by the researcher herself and her ability to make contact with people from a wide range of backgrounds and to communicate well with those people. The potential gaps are accentuated because some groups or residents were more disposed towards participating in the research than others. For example, people with no clear involvement with tourism were less inclined to participate, whereas tourism operators were

generally happy to participate. There were individuals that refused to participate because they did not have the time, while other people agreed to participate but refused to answer questions considered commercially or even socially sensitive. Thus, one of the potential limitations was created by individuals within the community. What these problems imply is that, if anything, individuals with little interest in the subject of tourism in Kaikoura may be under-represented in this research.

In spite of these limitations, there were some advantages to being an outsider. As someone who would leave the area, and who had no direct stake in its future, the researcher was seen to be “objective” by many locals with widely varying views of tourism. This objectivity seemed to allow people to speak freely on local issues possibly because the researcher’s views on tourism were unknown.

The problem of the researcher’s outsider status was also ameliorated to some extent by making use of insider informants. These informants were people who had lived in Kaikoura for varying lengths of time and with whom the researcher had regular contact throughout and beyond the research period. These people made suggestions about who might be interviewed, and how those individuals fitted into the community, and they were also able to confirm (or perhaps qualify) some of the researcher’s findings during the research process.

2.6 Ethics and Presentation

All research undertaken for the completion of this report was approved by the Lincoln University Human Subjects Ethics Committee (Reference number 97/21). No-one was pushed into participating if s/he did not wish to do so, nor were people pressured into answering questions that they did not want to answer. All participants were guaranteed confidentiality, and for this reason, no form of identification (including the interview number) is included with the quotations. Where particular individuals are mentioned, information has come from referenced data sources such as other research reports and newspaper items.

The following sections present the data gathered using these various techniques. Key quotes from a range of qualitative data sources are included throughout the text to support the quantitative data and to build a picture of tourism as Kaikoura people see it.

Chapter 3

The Kaikoura Context: Geography and History

3.1 Introduction

Central to understanding tourism in Kaikoura is an understanding of the attractions on which the new developments are based, the community structures into which tourism has been cast and the changes that converged to encourage the development of tourism. This section discusses some aspects of the geography and history of Kaikoura to outline the background against which tourism has developed in the area. The first part of the section outlines the geography of the area. Geographical features provide the basis of the unusual coastal marine environment, and thus, of the tourist attractions in Kaikoura. Furthermore, geographic isolation is a factor in maintaining both the closeness of the Kaikoura community and the divisions within that same community. The second part of this section thus outlines the community divisions that emerged during the course of the research and the history that explains why those divisions exist. The final part of this background information is an outline of recent New Zealand history which has had a profound effect on Kaikoura. The phenomenon under discussion here is restructuring, a process that has occurred throughout New Zealand since about 1984.

3.2 Geography and Climate

The Kaikoura area has a spectacular and unique geography. The Seaward Kaikoura Range towers to 2600 metres about 25km from the rugged sea coast on which the township sits. Out to sea, the continental shelf is unusually close to the coast line, a fact which brings marine mammals such as whales and dolphins close in and provides a particularly good food source for the most commonly seen mammals in the area - the seals. The unusual profusion of marine life so close to shore currently makes Kaikoura a good tourist destination. Many of the people who visit Kaikoura come to see the whales, and many come to see or swim with the dolphins and seals. Another smaller group come to enjoy the spectacular scenery. It was this same marine environment that was a major factor in the development of the Kaikoura township.

Together, the marine environment and the existence of the Kaikoura Peninsula were a prime reason for human settlement during pre-European times. The abundant sea life and the mild climate provided food for Maori in the region and the Peninsula provided good defensive positions for *Pa*. These same resources were also attractive to the first European settlers who came to the area to hunt whales from the coast. The Peninsula provided a good position for sighting blowing whales and a boat could be despatched quickly to row out and harpoon the whale which was then hauled in and boiled down to yield the desired whale oil. As hunting continued, the whales became rarer and the focus of European endeavour turned to farming and fishing, both of which became more profitable as the technology became available to transport the products of both to potential markets.

Weather has also had a significant effect on the people of Kaikoura. The nature of the mountains so close to the coast means that Kaikoura is subject to frequent drought and wind (when weather from the north-west predominates) and also to floods which occur as the result of south-easterly storms. A major flood appears to happen about every 30 years with the most recent floods occurring in 1993/94. On Christmas Eve 1993, heavy rain in the area caused the Kowhai River to burst its banks and run down through the town. A wall of water caused considerable damage to the main shopping area. A few months later, a second flood threatened the town but had more effect on farmland than on the township. In both cases, many individuals felt that the community was drawn together by these events. The unpredictability of the environment thus can be seen as something that helps maintain a strong sense of community.

3.3 Isolation

Kaikoura lies 200 kilometres north of Christchurch and 100 kilometres south of Blenheim. Its relative isolation from these two centres meant that Kaikoura was important for servicing State Highway 1 and the Main Trunk Railway. As transport and telecommunications technology has developed during the last 15 years, this role has become less and less important. The town has had to change from being a government service town to being a tourist town, a development which benefits from its position on State Highway 1 and on the main trunk line. Therefore, the development of tourism in Kaikoura can be seen as another use of the same resources on which the town has always relied.

The geographical isolation of the community has had considerable influence in shaping the character of community in Kaikoura. It was the isolation that meant that Kaikoura residents did not have a great deal of contact with people from outside the area. Travel to other centres such as Christchurch was difficult until recently when the road was improved. The hills to the north and west also provided obvious boundaries for the Kaikoura area. As one respondent put it:

The railway didn't go through here 'til the mid 40s and when my parents came here in the early 50s, it was a four hour trip to Christchurch so you didn't make it very often - it was a terrible road and even when we were children, a trip away was a huge thing.

This isolation has affected the community in a number of ways. First, the Pakeha (New Zealand European) community are very aware of their own family histories and links. Family ties remain important in Kaikoura. Second, the isolation has maintained many of the community divisions that existed in the days of the first settlers. For example, the Catholic-Protestant tension that the early Irish settlers brought with them is still in some evidence today. Similarly, people from very different social classes settled in the area and, even today, the descendants of those classes have little communication with each other. A similar set of cleavages can be seen between groups of workers in the community, for example between fishers and farmers.

3.4 Community Divisions

Understanding the divisions within the community helps to understand why and how different parts of the community are adapting to tourism. Although the community is close knit in the sense that locals tend to know each other, in fact there are many ways in which the community divides itself, as illustrated in the following quote:

We were sheep farmers, and the sheep farmers did not have contact with the dairy farmers, and the dairy farmers were very separate from the town. In the past, it used to be the railways and the M.O.W. guys would stick together and the fishermen would stick together. The boundaries have got a bit more blurred with Rogernomics . . . the majority of the dairy farmers and the old Kaikoura families have very strong Irish Catholic roots . . . and that's quite a split.

Many of the divisions and patterns in the present day Pakeha community originate from the world views and interactions of the different groups of original settlers from England and Ireland. Subgroups identified by community members are based on a range of factors from groups who work together (for example, fishers, farmers, railway workers), religion, race, family association with Kaikoura, and age. Clearly, in a community the size of Kaikoura, there are people who provide connections between the different groups. These groups and the reasons why they exist are outlined in the following paragraphs. The information used here comes mainly from interviews and informal conversations in Kaikoura.

3.4.1 Whaling and Fishing

The first Europeans to come to Kaikoura were the whalers who lived and whaled in the area at the discretion of the local Maori chief. Many took Maori wives. Whalers had the reputation of being heavy drinkers, something which made the incoming farmers avoid their company. The two groups had very different backgrounds, and this contributed to the separation of the whaling community from the wider settler community. When the whales eventually became low in number and uneconomic to hunt, many of the whalers became fishers.

The fishing community is still seen to be a discrete entity as evidenced in the quote above. They have their 'own' pub (the Pier), and some say that heavy and frequent drinking is still part of the culture of the fishing community, although fishers are not the only people in Kaikoura who drink heavily.

3.4.2 Family History

Many Kaikoura residents speak of "local locals", that is, people from families who have been in the area for a few generations, who can trace their family history back to the first settlers. There are also locals who were born in Kaikoura, or whose parents moved to the area, but these people are not seen to have quite the same roots here as the "local" locals. Clear evidence of the importance of local history lies in the fact that all except one of the interviewees who had a long Kaikoura family history began their interview by telling me that family history.

Who is a local?

Well there are degrees of being a local . . . there are quite a few 'local locals' whose family have lived here since the settlers, and looking at the tourist industry, not many of those local locals are in it . . .

3.4.3 Dairy Farmers

The present farming community falls into two separate groups, dairy farmers, and sheep and cattle farmers. These two groups are separated geographically. Five families originally settled Suburban Flat (to the north-west of the town) and Hapuku (to the north of the town). Some settlers used the gold that they found on the goldfields on the West Coast to buy a patch of land, while others traded their labour. It was through this labour that the large swamp that existed on Suburban Flat was gradually settled. The settlers were generally hardworking, self sufficient and practical, traits which are still visible in their descendants. The descendants of these settlers are now mainly dairy farmers. The relative isolation of the Kaikoura district means that local history is well confined and the long occupation of a few families means that many residents are related to one or more of five families who settled the area in the 19th century. These people can trace their family roots back to the Irish peasant farmers who arrived in Kaikoura with the aim of owning their own land. As Boyd (1992:11) put it:

Kaikoura represented the first bit of freehold land the Boyds had owned since 1690. After such long travels they were never going to move again and they never did.

3.4.4 Sheep and Cattle Farmers

In comparison to the Irish settlers, the sheep and cattle farmers were generally English, younger sons of upper class families who were unlikely to inherit property in England. The two farming groups tended not to mix socially since they were from very different social classes and different churches. As Boyd (1992:11) put it:

Anyone living over the Kowhai river was thought not quite 'up to standard' - a sort of 'outside the circle' kind of person. Some of this talk still exists even today.

This separation exists today because there is still little common ground on which the two groups meet. They go to different churches, educate their children in different schools (the sheep farmers are more likely to send their children to boarding school for their high school years and there are seven different primary schools dotted around the Kaikoura area), and they all live out of town, so they do not meet each other often.

3.4.5 Religion

Underlying the divisions in the farming community, and between the farming community and the whalers, was a difference of religion. These differences linger today. The Catholic Church has had a big influence on Kaikoura going back to the early settlers. According to local informants, approximately two thirds of the children at the local Catholic primary school are Maori, which indicates that a large proportion of the Maori community are Catholic, since they make up only 14.9 per cent of the community. The Catholic church also played a part in the development and building of Takahanga Marae in that a workshop facilitated by the church started Maori working towards achieving their goals of a central meeting place and economic and social development for Maori.

The Church has also been influential in the Pakeha community. Interviewees mentioned the Catholic Church as an important, influential feature of the community. For three of them, this observation led to the observation that the majority of the present Council are Catholics. One interviewee explained this by saying:

. . . the Catholic community has a huge vote and they vote for their own kind.

Similarly, one older informant mentioned that:

When the chips are down, the Catholics stick together.

This perception of the community being run by Catholics has some truth to it, especially when it is considered that, according to the last census, only 15.9 per cent of the community identify themselves as Catholic. However, this assessment of how it works is, perhaps, a little simplistic. It appears that the Catholic church instils a strong sense of community (King, 1997), and for many in the Catholic community, this translates into providing voluntary labour in various organisations within the community. It is a natural progression for some of the people with a history in these kinds of organisations to move into local politics. Because of their community service role, they are known in the community, and their capacities are known, so people vote for them. Going on the Council for many of these people is not only seen as a way for them to influence the politics in the town, but is also something that they feel they should do as a form of community service. The non-Catholics on the Council are similarly motivated and have a similar history in community groups whether or not they are members of the Catholic Church.

3.4.6 Maori and Pakeha

Another major division within the community exists between the descendants of the original Kaikoura Maori (Kati Kuri) and the Pakeha community. During six months fieldwork in Kaikoura there appeared to be little informal interaction between Takahanga Marae and the Council, between Whale Watch and local Pakeha businesses, and between the Maori and Pakeha communities in general. The division between the Maori and Pakeha communities is racially based, and as a result, racism is an issue discussed within the community. This will be elaborated further in the community issues section. There are also divisions within the Maori community based on different iwi and hapu identities.

3.4.7 Country and Town

The town originally developed as a service centre for the farming and fishing in the area. Later many people came to the area to build and service the railway line (completed in 1945) and the road. The division between country and town is underlain by the division between the “old families” and a set of “newcomers” and a division between the way these groups make their living. The loss of government departments from the area meant that many townspeople left the area in the 80s, and the subsequent development of tourism, which has brought a new group of people into the town, has tended to accentuate this particular cleavage. In this context, therefore, tourism is having similar effects to what the development of the railway had on the town during the 50s.

3.4.8 Communes of the 1970s

Another group that some locals feel has had a impact on the town came to Kaikoura in the 1970s. These people were generally young and well educated and were trying to live collectively and to escape city life. Their impact came from the fact that they mixed with the community - their children went to the local schools and they played sport locally, and yet they had very different world views compared with Kaikoura locals. One respondent said that she felt that the communes of the 70s helped to set the scene for tourism in Kaikoura by introducing local people to outsiders. While one or two people who arrived at that time have stayed around, most of the people involved directly with that community have moved elsewhere.

3.4.9 Bachowners and Retirees and the South Bay Residents Association

A further group in the community are the people who have holiday homes (or baches) in the area. Kaikoura is a coastal town to which New Zealanders have always come during the summer for the many fishing, swimming and diving opportunities in the area. Over time, some bachowners retired, chose to upgrade their bach to a house and moved into the area permanently. There is a concentration of these people in South Bay and Peketa which remain geographically separate from the main town.

Many of these people are ex-tradespeople with a passion for boating and fishing. They fit in well with the Kaikoura community with whom they find they have things in common, although they are seen as quite separate to the longer term residents of the area. Some of this is because they do not move into the area until they are in their 60s, so they are unable to make up time in service clubs or sports clubs. This is not to say that they are not active in sports and service clubs; they are. However, because they do not have the personal history in the community, they have few links with the younger community, even though they have a strong community of their own.

In South Bay, residents that the researcher spoke to distinguished between bachowners and residents or 'permanents', with 'permanents' having the higher status. However, the two groups have much in common and work together politically through the South Bay Residents' Association to raise Council awareness of issues in South Bay.

3.4.10 Summary

The concept of community is a difficult one to define and for most of this report, the Kaikoura community is one based mainly on geography. Thus, the Kaikoura community live between Oaro in the South and Kekerengu in the North. This community is small, so that most people know each other and consider that they are close knit. At the same time, there are many ways in which the community divides itself up into smaller groups. These divisions will be reflected in different *social representations*, which in turn are the basis on which the community debates and resolves issues (or indeed the basis for any social conflicts (see Moscovici and Doise, 1994; Pearce, Moscardo and Ross, 1996 for further development of this thesis)). Thus, cleavages are important because they underlie power structures within the community, which, in turn, affect how different people conceptualise, cope with, adapt to, and manage, change.

3.5 Restructuring

Restructuring, a process that became necessary in the face of international and technological change across the world, is closely linked to the development of

international tourism in New Zealand. Changing markets for New Zealand primary products left the country in need of new ways of bringing in foreign exchange and international tourism provided one way of doing it. These same patterns are reflected at the local level in Kaikoura. A large loss of local jobs through the restructuring of both the public sector and the agricultural sector created the need for new initiatives for employment. Tourism is the sector that has since grown out of that need. Thus, an understanding of the process and impacts of restructuring in New Zealand is important in understanding the development and impact of tourism in Kaikoura.

Restructuring and the way that it has been instigated has been a major source of change right across New Zealand. In 1984, the election of the Fourth Labour Government saw the beginning of a series of major economic changes that affected nearly every industry throughout New Zealand. Prior to 1984, Kaikoura was a farming, fishing and government service town. After 1984, Railways, the largest employer in the town continued restructuring and then privatised, leaving many in the town unemployed. The local telephone exchange was automated and the Meteorological Service automated its operation in Kaikoura. Job losses and other changes in the area have continued through further rounds of restructuring in both the fishing and farming sectors. Like other regions, Kaikoura fared badly in the restructuring. As Perry (1992:240) puts it:

Ironically just as regional inequalities have grown, the Fourth Labour Government dismantled much of the policy apparatus that had been set up to tackle the problems that have since intensified.

Higher job losses compared with the main urban centres and loss of population were the two major effects of restructuring in Kaikoura.

The following sections outline how restructuring affected different sectors of the Kaikoura community to show how the community has changed since 1984 and to background the reasons why Kaikoura began looking at tourism as a development option. The events outlined in these sections are also designed to provide some background to help the reader understand why some community issues exist and the way in which the community is dealing with them.

3.5.1 Farming

Farming has changed considerably over the last 15-20 years. There have been many changes in markets and in the way that meat, wool and dairy products are sold overseas. Perhaps one of the biggest changes for farmers was the removal of Supplementary Minimum Prices (SMPs) from meat and wool during the 1980s. This had a big effect on farm income and forced farmers to increase the number of stock units or to diversify their income base. As one of my interview respondents noted:

1500 ewes was a viable farm 15 years ago but now you need about 4000 sheep and you can't afford to have much debt. Farmers, like everyone else have had to become more efficient and more effective.

Farmers use less farm labour now, and where labour is hired, it is often on a casual basis. This has affected employment opportunities for local youths who, in the past, would often work on local farms when they left school. In addition, it seems that in Kaikoura, as in other areas around New Zealand, many people who live on a farm have other work and investments off the farm (Pomeroy, 1996:137).

3.5.2 The Public Sector - Railways, Ministry of Works, Post and Telecommunications.

Prior to 1984 in New Zealand, the public sector was very large and provided many jobs for people. After 1984, governments began “rolling back the State”, initially by forming state-owned enterprises aimed at making the state sector work more like the private sector (Kelsey 1993). Later, many state owned enterprises were sold off to private investors. Telecom, Railways, and the Ministry of Works provide examples. The government’s idea was that the private sector would be able to develop better in a more deregulated market and so would create the jobs that were being lost from the public service. In reality, the private sector also ended up cutting back and restructuring itself and employment did not eventuate, particularly in rural towns.

The Main Trunk Railway line from Christchurch to Picton was completed in 1945 after many years of labour. From then on, Kaikoura was a major service centre for the railway line. At its peak, Railways provided employment for over 100 people from guards, locomotive drivers, traffic controllers, to large gangs of labourers who worked on the line to maintain it. McQueen (1992: 177) says that from a peak level of staff throughout New Zealand in the 1950s, railways had been gradually retrenching. When the 1980s came, the pace of change within Railways increased prior to deregulation and restructuring. Railways was corporatised in 1982 and the deregulation of the land transport industry began in 1983 (McQueen, 1992: 177) . By this stage, Kaikoura would have been noticing the changes, for example freight handling was concentrated into the main centres, wagons were increasing in size. The corporation was finally privatised in 1993 (Pawson, 1996).

In Kaikoura, according to informants there, the guards were the first people to be laid off, followed by the large work gangs. From then on, there was plenty of warning about what was going to happen. The next development was that two locomotives would be put on each train from Christchurch. This allowed trains to go over the hills to the north of Kaikoura without the need to either pick up extra engines and drivers in Kaikoura or do any shunting in the yards in Kaikoura. All shunting was moved to Christchurch and Blenheim. Refreshment staff were laid off. Traffic controllers in Kaikoura were finally laid off in 1991, when traffic control was automated and controlled from Christchurch. Now only a few Kaikoura residents work for the railways, and some of them only work on an on-call, part-time basis.

The loss of railways jobs was very hard on the town. For many locals, the idea that “if you wanted a job you could always get one with the railways” was no longer true. Fewer regular pay packets were coming into the town which affected local retailers. Quite a number of people left the area - some of them took up similar jobs in Christchurch or Blenheim. Most badly affected by these changes were the Maori community, who had provided a large part of the labour on the line maintenance gangs. Some locals estimate that at one stage, there was 90 per cent unemployment in the Maori community.

The administration of roading shows parallel change during this time. The Ministry of Works, once the only organisation working on the roads, was forced to restructure as the construction market was opened up and private construction companies were able to compete on an equal footing for the same jobs. Few roading staff now live in Kaikoura as it has become more common for private contractors to be based in the bigger centres and to come into the smaller centres for a limited period of time while they work on the contracts that they have.

Similarly, until 1986, telecommunications in New Zealand were all run by the New Zealand Post Office. The beginning of telecommunications re-regulation began in 1987 and Telecom was finally sold off to a private buyer in 1990 (Garland, 1996: 60). Perhaps of more importance was that telecommunications technology was changing rapidly and through the 80s many rural telephone exchanges still using manual exchanges were modernised. Kaikoura's exchange was finally automated in 1985 making about 25 people redundant. Similarly changes in technology allowed the New Zealand meteorological service to automate its operation in Kaikoura. In comparison to automating telecommunications and railway traffic control, this had a small effect on the community but illustrates the role that technological change had in the demise of small rural centres.

3.5.3 Fishing

According to interviewees with a long family association with fishing in Kaikoura, fishing began changing during the 1970s. Before that time, fishing had been a small scale, family affair with the techniques, values and rules being passed down from father to son. A day's fishing consisted of putting out the lines clearing them over the course of the day and then bringing them in again at night. All the fishers that I spoke to who remember this time talk about "unwritten rules" such as 'never leave your lines out overnight'. This and other rules were policed by other fishers. Groper were the main catch, and the technique of line fishing was considered sustainable because groper do not eat when they are spawning which means that they cannot be caught on lines when they are spawning. Equally important in maintaining a balance was that there were no developed markets for fish and there was much work in clearing lines.

Crayfishing has a long history in Kaikoura. Prior to the 1970s, crayfishers used pots made from supplejack vines. The beauty of these was that if there were lost they would rot and no longer catch crayfish, unlike the metal pots that are now used. Transporting fish and crayfish to prospective markets could cost more than the fish was worth on that market. One respondent talks of shucking Paua for 10c per kilogram. She also talked of picking up paua shells and using the money from selling them to carpet her house.

It was not until the 1970s, that the value of fish began to increase. At this time the international law of the sea was changing and New Zealand created a 200 kilometres exclusive economic fishing zone (Le Heron, 1996: 154). Overseas markets began to develop, attracting many outsiders into Kaikoura as they saw opportunities to make money from fishing. As fish became more valuable and the market for them grew, new fishing methods were developing and one of those was set netting. Set netting allowed more fish to be caught in less time. Long term locals say that set netting was introduced largely by people from Kaiapoi, many of whom were on the killing chains at Canterbury Frozen Meat Freezing Works. They would work at Canterbury Frozen Meat for six months, then come up to Kaikoura and fish for the other months of the year.

They'd come in the summer and do their set netting here and then go back on the chain . . . and then as they started closing killing chains down and that, those guys came and set up here and got into it.

The effects of set netting diminished stocks in the wet fishery¹ in Kaikoura as in other places. Monitoring techniques were developed and the quota management system was brought in during 1983 (Le Heron, 1996: 154).

The way that the quota was allocated is considered unfair by many locals. This perception has helped to accentuate the division between long term locals and newcomers. The difficulty for the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries was how to allocate quota fairly and the way that they did it had a big effect on Kaikoura. To the families that had been fishing in Kaikoura for many years, it appeared that the new group of fishers had little feeling for the resource that they were fishing and were out to get as many fish as possible for the least effort. The same fishers that depleted the resource were then the ones to benefit the most from the allocation of quota, because they built up a catch history which they then used to control how quota was allocated. This consisted of nominating the years that would be used to judge how much quota individual fishers would get. The fact that the newcomers now outnumbered the "locals" so that they had relatively more power to influence what would happen created ill-feeling:

It was a toss up as to what years to take[as the basis from which to establish a quota allocation], and of course they took a vote from fishermen and of course all the fishermen . . . looked at their books and said well they were my best years . . .

However, there was more to it than that. One informant felt that local fishers were disadvantaged because of the long term way in which they thought of fishing:

There's a generation of people in Kaikoura that didn't know any better . . . and never understood the ramifications of not filling out fishing returns. They could not understand that their whole life would be turned around by not having a history in fishing for a three year period - they saw a history as a lifetime, you know? Not something that happened in three years.

In addition, quota was allocated only to people who had recorded more than a minimum catch level and this disadvantaged people who had small catches over the three years that counted. One interviewee said:

P's dad paua-ed for many years and did less each year as he got older but unless you got a certain amount in the last 2-3 years, you weren't given any quota. A man who had a lifetime's history of fishing got nothing, whereas others who had just moved into the area got big quotas.

¹ Wet fish are the fish species in Kaikoura that are caught with set nets. The name wet fish is used to distinguish these fisheries from the paua fishery or the crayfishery.

Fishers who had fished casually to supplement other income were excluded from the quota allocation, as were fishers who were away from the district over the critical three years that became the basis for quota allocations. In comparison, many fishers who had just moved into the area, and perhaps who were more aware of the implications of their action over the time quota was being discussed, were advantaged by being allocated large amounts of quota. Because quota can be bought, sold and leased, this gave some fishers capital resources that they never had before.

This method of quota allocation also disadvantaged many in the Maori community who had a long tradition of fishing but often on a relatively small scale. There is a chance however the Maori will benefit from the ongoing discussions and allocation of Maori fishing quota, depending on how this is allocated between and within Iwi groups.

The crayfishery has benefited most significantly from the quota management system which has made the crayfishers most positive of all fishers in Kaikoura towards the whole system. According to Barton (1998, pers. comm.), there are several reasons for the success of crayfish management. Most importantly, scientists have a better understanding of crayfish compared with other fish species, which means that the science of managing crayfish is a much more certain one. In comparison, wet fish stocks are much more difficult to count and, as with Paua, there is no good understanding of the life cycles of the various species, which makes estimating total allowable catches difficult and much more of an exercise in guessing.

3.5.4 Local Government Reform

According to Bush (1992) and Mulgan (1994) , far reaching local government reforms were begun in 1987 after the re-election of the Labour Government. They were finally instituted in 1989 with the passing of the Local Government Amendment Act which significantly changed the structure and function of local government across New Zealand. Very little changed in the Kaikoura area. However, the Council now has the smallest rating base in New Zealand except for the Chatham Islands, perhaps a testimony to its strong sense of identity and isolation. Many locals feel that the Council should be amalgamated with another council, but others argue that if that had been an attractive proposition for another council, amalgamation would have been achieved by now.

Large scale changes began during 1991 with the passing of the Resource Management Act, which significantly changed the ways that communities manage their natural and physical resources. Further amendments have been made to the Local Government Act and more legislation requiring action from councils has changed both the way that councils operate, their accountability, and the way in which they fund local projects. These changes are not well understood by the general public and the general apathy that New Zealanders have towards local government issues (Mulgan, 1994) means that understanding is likely to improve only slowly in the near future.

3.6 Recent Maori Development

Another change of some importance in understanding tourism in Kaikoura is the changing status of Maori across New Zealand. Although the Waitangi Tribunal was set up in 1975 (Sharp, 1992), it was not until the 1980s that issues connected to Maori Sovereignty and the Treaty of Waitangi were taken seriously at political level. Although the process still has some way to go, Maori have become more prominent in New Zealand politics, and some groups of Maori are also improving their economic status. This was the national context within which local Maori in Kaikoura began the initiatives that led to the development of Whale Watch.

Prior to the full brunt of restructuring, but at a time from the 70s on when unemployment problems were beginning in Kaikoura, local Maori (Kati Kuri) began plans to develop their Marae to provide a focal point for economic, social and cultural activities. They raised money for the project by running raffles in various pubs both in Christchurch and Kaikoura. Much of the Marae was built before the devastating changes of the 1980s, when unemployment disproportionately affected Maori. The main reason for this, according to some, was that Maori were largely employed on the railways, with the MOW and as labourers. They were not the owners of small businesses such as farms, and when these sectors were restructured, Maori were amongst the first to lose their jobs. Family members had first priority on any available jobs on farms and on fishing boats, so there were few options for Maori other than to leave the area or to start their own business. With very high unemployment (some locals estimate as high as 90 per cent) within the Maori community, the Marae was driven to look at a wide range of options for employment. Whalewatching developed as one of those options.

3.7 Conclusions

Global and national restructuring have caused big changes in rural areas throughout New Zealand, changes that are reflected in other parts of the world (see Gray, 1994; Lane, 1994; Douglas, 1989). For the people of Kaikoura, the biggest effect of restructuring was the loss of employment opportunities which started the town into a steady decline during the 1980s. Perhaps the group that was hit hardest by the loss of employment were Maori - a pattern that has been reflected across the country. At the same time, Maori leaders have recognised the need for Maori answers to Maori problems. Whale Watch in Kaikoura is the direct result of action initiated as a result of this philosophy.

This section has outlined the historical and geographical contexts within which tourism has developed in Kaikoura. The geographical features of the area have provided the coastal and aesthetic resources on which the current tourism industry is based. The technological, economic and social changes have provided the means to bring people into the area, and the need for the revenue created by visitors to the area. In addition, the structure of the community and the divisions within that community are factors that affect the development, management and perceptions of tourism in Kaikoura.

Chapter 4

The Community

4.1 Introduction

This section provides further background information, describing the community using data from the 1996 census, from the telephone survey and from interview data. The first part of this section describes the demographic characteristics of the current community. The second part outlines what it is that Kaikoura people like about living in Kaikoura. The final part of the section looks at what locals consider to be community issues or problems. These final two things are important for understanding the way that the community views tourism.

4.2 General Demographic Characteristics

At the time of the 1996 census, the Kaikoura area had a usually resident population of 3516 people and the township itself had a usually resident population of 2208. The township itself had a total population of 2730 on the night of the 1996 census. Currently, the local authority that covers the area has the smallest rating base in New Zealand except for the Chatham Islands.

4.2.1 Age

The questionnaire was administered only to individuals aged 15 years or more. Figure 1 shows the age distribution of the survey sample alongside the adjusted age distribution of the 1996 census. A Chi square goodness-of-fit test on this sample reveals that it is not significantly different from the 1996 census data (Pearson's $X^2 = 4.8933$, $df = 5$, $p < 0.1$) for the township.

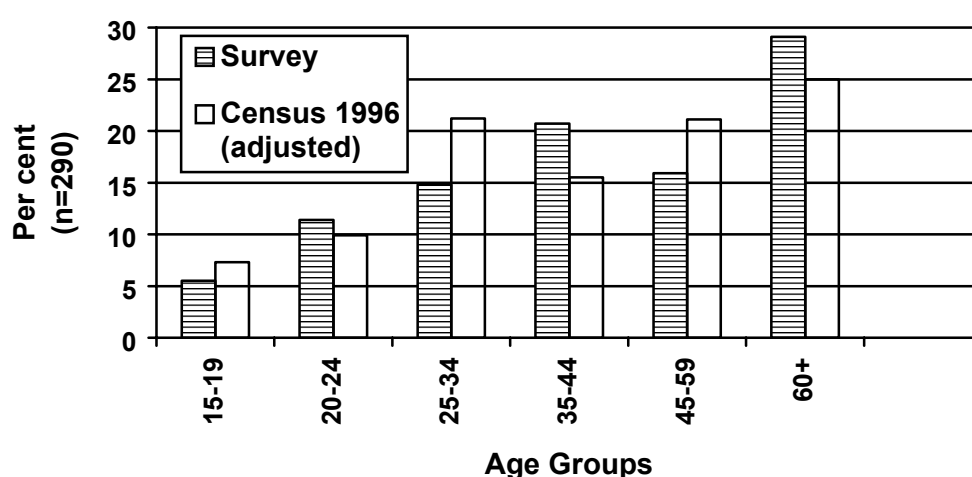


Figure 1
Age Distribution From 1998 Kaikoura Residents Survey and 1996 Census.

According to the census data, 19.3 per cent of the local Kaikoura community are over the age of 60. In comparison, the percentage of people over the age of 60 is 15.4. Thus, the number of retirees living in Kaikoura is slightly higher than the national average. This is not unexpected since during interviews, many locals said that people who grew up in Kaikoura move back for their retirement, while another group of retirees are outsiders who had been coming to Kaikoura for many years for their holidays. These are often (but not always) ex-bachowners who upgrade their bach into a house and then become permanent residents.

4.2.2 Ethnicity

In our sample, 14.3 per cent of respondents identified themselves as Maori or part Maori, which compares favourably with the 14.9 per cent of the population who identified themselves that way on Census night, 1996. This group is comprised of a range of sub groups dominated by Kati Kuri (who are *manawhenua*) and other Ngai Tahu hapu (see Henley and Poharama 1998²).

4.2.3 Sex

Overall, 120 males (41.5 per cent) and 169 females (58.5 per cent) were interviewed during the survey. As might be expected, the differences are greatest in the over 60s age group, where 33 per cent of the respondents were men and 67 per cent were women. In the under 40 age groups, the sample had a 50-50 ratio of males to females.

4.2.4 Income

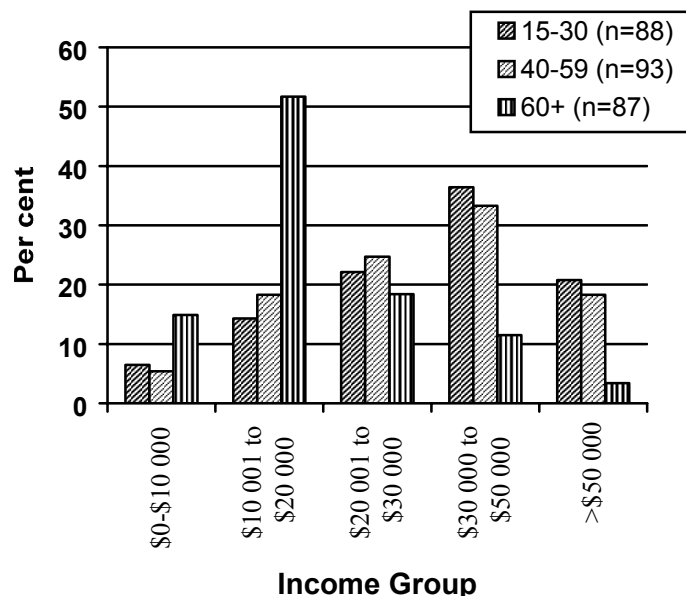


Figure 2
Age Group By Income (Pearson's $X^2=53.93701$, $df=8$, $p= 0.00000$)

Fifty two point two per cent of respondents said that they had a household income of \$20,000 to \$30,000 or less, while only 14 per cent said that they had a household income

² See The Impact of Tourism on the Maori Community in Kaikoura (Report No. 7) .

of over \$50,000. The 1996 census shows that the median personal income in Kaikoura is lower than that across New Zealand as a whole. In Kaikoura, the median personal income is 13,274 for people over the age of 15, whereas in New Zealand for the same group it is \$15,600.

A further indication of community income may come from the system that is used to rate a school for funding. Schools are given a decile rating - a number that falls between one and ten. Schools which have children from high income families will have a higher decile rating (and therefore will be given less government funding) than schools whose children come from low income groups. A decile rating of 5 is given to schools of average income communities. Until 1997, the local school had a decile rating of three; well below average. After the 1996 census, the school has since been 'redeciled' and now sits on a high four. This has had a big impact on funding, and those involved with the schools feel that the use of a very limited sample of families made the area look better off than it really is. Overall, however, it appears that family incomes in Kaikoura are rising.

Figure 2 illustrates how income is distributed between the age groups in Kaikoura. This graph indicates that over 50 per cent of respondents over the age of 60 live in households with an income between \$10,000 and \$20,000 dollars per year. Furthermore, females in the sample are significantly more likely to live in lower income households than males (Pearson's $X^2=53.93701$, $df=8$, $p= 0.00000$). This may be due in part to the fact that there were more females in the over 60s age group. These people are super-annuitants, many of whom live alone, so older people are more likely to live in households with a lower income than younger people who earn more and live in larger households. Field et al. (1996: 9), in their study of the elderly in Kaikoura, note that

there is a significant number of the elderly in Kaikoura living on extremely low incomes - 55 per cent of women over the age of 60, for example, have an [personal] income of less than \$10,000 per year.

It appears that while incomes in Kaikoura are rising for some groups, people in the older age groups stand little chance of increasing their income through tourism and yet because of their low incomes, they are likely to feel the effects of any rises in the cost of living in Kaikoura.

4.2.5 Length of Residence

There is a large group of Kaikoura residents who have had long associations with the area. Many in the community can trace their families back to the first settlers which indicates that some parts of the community are very stable. Eighty two people (28.2 per cent) in the telephone survey said they had been born in Kaikoura, while 151 (52 per cent) said that they had lived in the area for more than 20 years (see Table 2). Another 111 people (38.1 per cent) said that they had been visiting the area regularly before retiring there (see Table 3) From interview data, most of these had been bachowners. Forty four people had been visiting the area regularly for 20 years or more before living there. Adding in the years of regular visitation before individuals moved into the area showed that 68.3 per cent of the

residents that we surveyed have been associated with the area for 20 years or more. To add to this, 24 people (eight per cent) are under the age of 25 and were born in the area which brings that total to 66 per cent of Kaikoura residents who appear to be strongly attached to the place, whether or not that attachment is positive or negative. Furthermore, 190 individuals (65.7 per cent) expected to be living in Kaikoura in 10 years time, while a further 20 per cent said that they were not sure.

Interview data support the notion that people are strongly connected to Kaikoura through family and by association. In general, most interviewees said that they liked living in Kaikoura, however there were some who had not thought about it either positively or negatively. Most people in the second group appeared to be in the older age groups.

Table 2
Years That People Have Lived in Kaikoura (N=291)

Years	Frequency	%
0 to 4	42	14.4
5 to 9	31	10.7
10-14	40	13.7
15-19	27	9.3
20 or more	151	51.9

Table 3
Total Number of Years Associated With Kaikoura

Years	Frequency	%
0-4	22	7.7
5-9	16	5.6
10-14	27	9.4
15-19	26	9.1
>=20	196	68.3

Table 4
Years Regularly Visiting Before Living in Kaikoura (N=111)

Years	Frequency	%
0 to 4	13	11.7
5 to 9	22	19.8
10 to 14	24	21.6
15 to 19	8	7.2
>=20	44	39.7

For some individuals in the older age groups who had lived in Kaikoura all their lives, there was no question of living somewhere else. A demonstration of this was an interview with an 83 year old male who, after living in Kaikoura all his life, was unable to answer the question “what do you like about living in Kaikoura?”. After some thought he said that he didn’t know, he had always lived in Kaikoura and had nowhere with which to compare it.

A little later in the interview, he mentioned that having his family nearby was important to him. This world view is shared by other older members of the community who have lived in Kaikoura all their lives.

4.3 What do Residents Like About Living in Kaikoura?

Related to perceptions of place are the things that people like and dislike about the place in which they live. This question is of some importance in understanding the way that residents perceive the negative and positive impacts of tourism. For example, if they value peace and quiet, having many tourists in the town is less likely to be perceived as a benefit of tourism. The survey answers are well supported by the interview data. However, as might be expected with methodological differences, while only one interview respondent was not able to answer the question “what do you like about living in Kaikoura”, this happened more often during the telephone surveys when there was less time and people had less inclination to think about their answer. Many interviewees called Kaikoura the “best place in the world” while others expressed great affection for the place and an enjoyment of many different facets of life there.

Figure 3 shows the things that Kaikoura residents like about living in Kaikoura and the percentage of the community that mentioned each answer. The next few paragraphs look at these answers in greater depth, although not in the same order as they are presented in Figure 3.

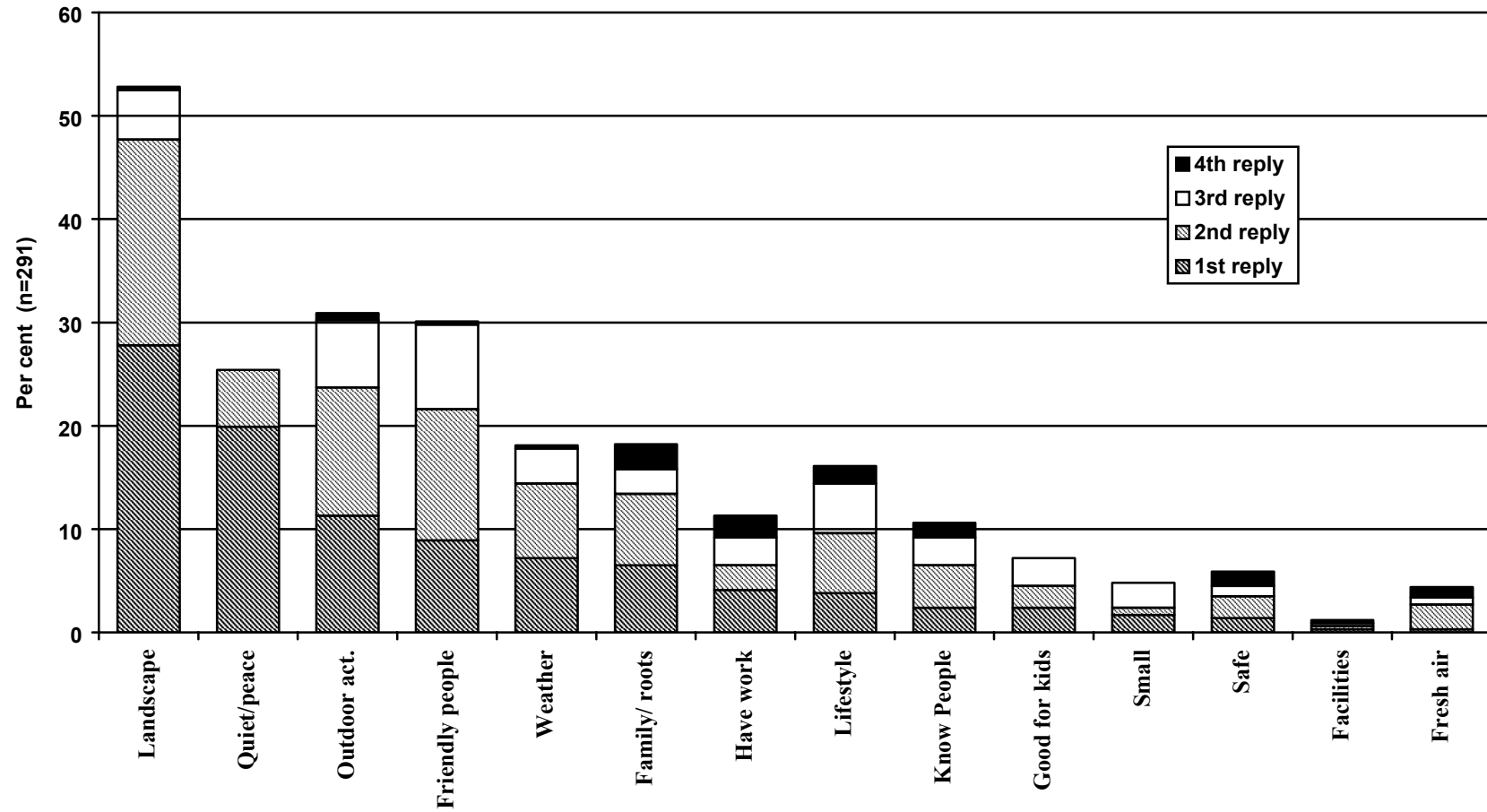
4.3.1 Landscape and the Outdoors

The landscape was mentioned by 54 per cent (157) of survey respondents and the majority of interviewees mentioned landscape as very important. Included in this category are the people who mentioned the beauty of the mountains and the sea. However, it appears likely that different groups within the community see the environment in different ways (Thompson, Ellis and Wildavsky, 1990). Similarly, one interview respondent, who had lived in Kaikoura for 18 months, said that:

Residents of Kaikoura appreciate the environment differently to strangers coming in who are quite overawed by the view. Locals tend to really appreciate the different phases of the seasons and the different climates and things like that rather than just the pristine views.

Another respondent alluded to the fact that there are differing views of the environment when discussing the 1993/94 outbreaks of the Kowhai river. She felt that newcomers to the area were pushing the Canterbury Regional Council very hard to get them to put in a large amount of flood protection and that their hope of stopping future flooding was an impossible one. “Local” locals with past experience of these floods feel that it is impossible to control nature absolutely, so it is better to adapt rather than spend millions of dollars on protection that will almost certainly fail at some future time. Thus, major floods are seen as a part of life in the Kaikoura area for those who have lived there for a long time, whereas newcomers feel that it is just a matter of spending enough money to control them.

Figure 3
What Residents Like About Living in Kaikoura



For some residents, the environment is the first thing they think about when asked about the impacts of tourism, although few feel that there have been any negative impacts thus far. Residents' awareness of the surrounding landscape and natural resources appears to be increasing due to tourism and a group of new residents who moved to Kaikoura because of its outdoor environment. Two people in the survey also mentioned that one of the benefits of tourism has been that the new focus on aesthetics and things natural has made Kaikoura a nicer place to live in because more efforts are made now to protect what they have. Many respondents also think of the landscape in terms of what activities it provides for recreation and leisure.

4.3.2 Access to Outdoor Activities

For 33 per cent of the survey sample, and for males especially, access to outdoor activities was an important part of living in the area. Fifty seven per cent of male respondents mentioned that outdoor activities were an important part of living in Kaikoura compared to 37 per cent of women (Pearson's $X^2=25.0617$ $df=1$ $p=0.0000$). In addition, people in the younger age groups are more likely to mention outdoor activities as important: 39 per cent of under 40 year olds as compared with 20 per cent of over 60 year olds. The predominance of young male respondents in outdoor recreation is consistent with the profile of outdoor recreationists in general (Booth and Peebles, 1995).

The two most frequently mentioned activities were fishing and diving, although some people also mentioned hunting, and walking or tramping as important outdoor activities for them. Younger residents are more likely than older residents to participate in skiing, diving, surfing and tramping/walking. These people are also more commonly found working in tourism and tend to have a few more years of formal education than those in the older age groups which reflects changes occurring in New Zealand as a whole. Many of the people who have retired to Kaikoura fit a demographic and recreational profile similar to those people involved in more resource extractive activities such as sea-fishing, diving and hunting in other parts of New Zealand (see Parkin, 1996). Both groups are male, have trade or technical qualifications and have participated in a range of similar activities to those listed above.

Observations and interviews indicate that the beaches are important outdoor sites for recreational activity such as swimming and surfing. Many of the local children spend time on the beaches during the summer while other local people enjoy boating activities such as fishing, water skiing and sea kayaking. Snow skiing has become popular amongst some locals - especially local high school children who get very good rates at Mt Lyford Skifield - and a local businessman runs a regular shuttle up the mountain which makes skiing and snowboarding affordable for many locals.

Outdoor recreation is one aspect of life in Kaikoura that may be affected negatively by tourism. There is some evidence that this is the case - some residents expressed concern that the area may be getting overfished by recreational fishers, while others said that they avoided some of the walkways at busy times of the year. However, while tourism may negatively affect outdoor recreation opportunities, for those in the younger age groups, tourism may also represent a way for them to live in an area which offers good outdoor recreation opportunities. Thus, tourism may seem to afford many benefits to the younger age groups but for the older age groups, it will appear to afford more costs than benefits.

4.3.3 Peace and Quiet

Amongst survey respondents, peace and quiet is the second most important attribute of Kaikoura (see Figure 3). People of both sexes and in all age groups are found in the group that rated peace and quiet as an important feature of the Kaikoura lifestyle. It is also a feature that many feel to be threatened by the development of tourism in the area.

4.3.4 Friends and Family

Thirty one per cent of questionnaire respondents mentioned that they liked the friendly people. A further 11 per cent said that they liked knowing people and 18 per cent said that having family and their roots in the area was important. Women more than men reported that having family in the area was important (Pearson's $X^2=3.96411$ $df=1$ $p=0.047$), but during in-depth interviews it was an important part of life for most of the interviewees who had family in the area. Many interview respondents mentioned that they liked to live in a place where people knew each other and would help each other out in times of trouble; thus, the small size of the population and the length of time for which people live there means that most people in the community consider it to be close knit.

Interviewees often mentioned that the close knit nature of the community was something that they considered both good and bad. Being known by so many people in the community can have its drawbacks. As one interview respondent said "It can be a bit of a pain when you get a new girlfriend or something". The following quotes outline this tension.

What is most valuable about your lifestyle in Kaikoura?

I guess we have to look at the physical surroundings, and we live in a very beautiful part of the country. I like the speed of this community as opposed to living in a larger city. It's . . . probably more laid back, it's slower - it's a small community, you tend to know people, and . . . I feel an ownership of the community therefore I tend to get involved in the community because it's small. I suspect I wouldn't feel that way in a larger centre and I would tend to feel more anonymous in a larger centre.

What do you mean "ownership of the community"?

Well the community is very small and you know a large number of the people in the area and if you don't know them personally, you certainly know of them . . . you tend to get involved with your children, and because it's a small community you tend to meet the same people on various committees and things like that, and . . . you tend to be absorbed into other areas of the community - I think its quite natural that you tend to develop an interest - a proprietorial feeling about the community - if you've got an interest in what's going on.

And are there any problems with living here?

Sometimes its too small. . . . The community becomes a bit enclosed sometimes - there is difficulty in retaining some privacy so I tend to cope with that by . . . having a very close set of friends and keeping my private life very private.

For many people, Kaikoura is a wonderful place to bring up children because they are known and the whole community keeps an eye on them. However, even this can have its drawbacks:

... when you are dealing with teachers, its not just a faceless stranger, and particularly for bringing up young children it's easy, and it's a very safe place for kids to be brought up - they know everybody and everybody knows them. . . . I think it is more difficult when they are teenagers . . if you go off the rails here you are never allowed to forget the fact that you went off the rails and if you do reform yourself . . . others will say oh look at his or her father: it's in the family, so that's the down side of it.

Thus, the community can be unforgiving of people who transgress accepted norms. The small size of the community adds to this because everyone knows who is whom, so offenders remain labelled and are likely to be marginalised if they are not driven out.

A few interview respondents had stories of people who had retired to the area and who had left again after a few years because they did not manage to make any friends in that time. In addition, other people talked about it taking a long time to become accepted within the community. Acceptance depends very much on individuals and how involved they get in community life, but it is also a product of what other connections they have in the town - particularly family connections. One resident mentioned that to be a local, you had to live in the area for at least 18 years:

... you see, you've got to be here about 18 years before people even notice you're in Kaikoura . . . the old settlers that kind of thing. I remember my father saying to me; I said 'who are those people?' and he said 'Oh I don't know... they're new people, they're something to do with the railways I think'. I found out they had been here about 18 years, but as far as he was concerned, they were new people and he didn't know them very well.

4.4 Community Issues

The previous section outlined characteristics of the people that live in the Kaikoura area. This section adds to this description of the current community and looks at the issues that residents feel are important at the current time. These issues offer suggestions about the way that the community as a whole adapts to change. Some of these issues arise from the divisions that were outlined earlier in the paper.

All of the following issues are mentioned in the Community Safety Profile put out by the Safer Community Council (Manson, 1996). Racism, drug and alcohol problems, high teenage pregnancy rates, a high youth suicide rate, high levels of physical, emotional and verbal abuse (some of which has occurred over generations) are all problems, and were all raised during the course of interviews.

Unemployment, alcohol and drugs, family rivalry, Maori - Pakeha relationships and lack of leadership are the issues outlined in the sections that follow. Unemployment is seen to be linked to problems of alcohol and drugs and youth suicide and was mentioned more often by interviewees than any other issue. Some of these problems arise because of Kaikoura's small size, meaning that although these issues arise in other places, they are not so clearly visible -

racism and the relationship between Maori and Pakeha is an example of this. Others arise because of Kaikoura's relative isolation and its position relative to the way that services such as health and social support are administered regionally and nationally. Still others are a product of history and in most cases the issues arise as a result of many factors rather than having any single cause.

4.4.1 Unemployment

In the 1996 census, 75 people in Kaikoura were categorised as unemployed and figures released on 18th March 1997 show that 149 Kaikoura residents were registered as unemployed with the New Zealand Employment Service. This is approximately 4.25 per cent of the total population. Kaikoura has a remote area policy, which stipulates that individuals cannot receive unemployment benefit in Kaikoura unless they own property there or can prove that they have family in the area. This may help to keep unemployment lower than it might otherwise be. This issue provides the reason why Kaikoura has turned to tourism so enthusiastically in recent years. For many this takes the form of wanting jobs for their children.

4.4.2 Alcohol and Drugs

The community safety profile (Manson, 1996) mentions alcohol and drug abuse as a concern within the community. Eight interviewees directly mentioned that there is an alcohol and drugs problem in Kaikoura. There are currently 38 outlets for alcohol in Kaikoura, and drinking has been part of the culture in the area since the time of the whalers (Harris, 1994).

I wasn't afraid to tell them that there's a drug and alcohol problem . . . I reckon it's easier to buy drugs than get Panadol. [It] seems like everyone you look at is into it. It's mainly dope. Apparently Kaikoura is a really good place to grow it. At the moment there's a heap of LSD around - it's all pretty nasty and we've got sort of gang stuff starting to come in on the fringes of it . . . and the alcohol, well I started going to pubs when I was 14 - they don't bother with underage or people who are drunk or things like that . . . and it's inter-generational alcohol use . . . you'll go to the pub and there'll be three generations sitting there drinking. It's like a traditional family thing . . .

Clearly, this is not a problem that has been caused by tourism, however, it may not be helped by the development of tourism which can bring with it more alcohol outlets and a larger market for drugs. Some interviewees put it down to the fact that there is nothing to do for teenagers in the town. However, other respondents mentioned that there are teenagers in the area who say they cannot possibly do all the activities available because there is not enough time. Tourism is creating more part-time work for the young, and there are many sports and activity clubs in Kaikoura at the present time, however, as Manson (1996) writes, there are few opportunities for pre-teenage children.

Alcohol and drug abuse are also linked to problems such as drink driving, youth suicide, and domestic violence. Also of concern is that the services that are set up to help prevent and treat these problems do not always work well in Kaikoura, because different services are managed from different centres - for example, welfare services are controlled from Blenheim while health services are controlled from Christchurch. This incoherence impacts on the way that the different services work together. Furthermore, over time, these services tend to be decreasing their level of involvement in the community.

4.4.3 Family Rivalries

Three interviewees directly mentioned that there is some rivalry between families in the Pakeha community. According to these interviewees, family A will not co-operate with family B in case family B gets an advantage. In many ways, this can just be seen as another form of the rugged individualism mentioned earlier. Many rural people are used to making their own decisions, being their own bosses and being self reliant, but as things change and there is a need for people to work together, differences and rivalry can become more obvious.

4.4.4 Maori/Pakeha Relationships

There is a wide range of views in the community about Maori/Pakeha relations. People I spoke to at the Marae feel strongly that they are marginalised by the larger Pakeha community and they often mention the racism that they see in the wider community.

Some Pakeha also say that there is racism in the community:

. . . certainly in terms of Maori/Pakeha relations, this town has to be the ultimate in bigoted red-necked racism.

A young Pakeha woman put it this way:

If you are part of a really strong Maori family and have a lot of contact with the Marae and that, then Pakehas aren't so keen to become involved with you because you are such a strong Maori family, whereas if you are an odd Maori person just intermingling happily and not talking about your culture and things then you are accepted as being OK because you're sort of a white person.

A young Maori woman felt that some young Maori needed to think about their attitudes as much as others, implying that racism is not perpetrated only by Pakeha in the area.

What would you say Maori-Pakeha relations are like in this community?

In the older generations it is good, but in younger generations, it's not racism, but it's quite a lot of superiority - its just their attitudes towards people- it's mainly like the younger Maori generation who think they are superior to anyone in Kaikoura. . . . I'm Maori and I'm proud of it but there are people who just take it too far . . .

Of course, not everyone agreed that relations are good between the older generations.

What are the relationships between Maori and Pakeha groups?

I certainly see a vast improvement over the years - vast improvement - and the catalysts for those are, I think, the barriers breaking down with a greater knowledge of what's going on and that's not only greater knowledge of what goes on in the wider world as such. We tend to be looking outward as opposed to focusing too much inwardly. . . . it has provided change in all areas and certainly the Maori- Pakeha relationships have improved and changed.

Other Pakeha feel that they have little contact with Maori in Kaikoura. Long term residents say that contact has stopped since Takahanga Marae was built, whereas for those new to the area it is just seen to be because they move in different social circles and there do not seem to be the opportunities to socialise with Maori. Takahanga Marae therefore has served to separate out the two communities perhaps more than they used to be. Maori on the Marae say that the Pakeha community takes no interest in what is going on there. In comparison, many Pakeha said that they had never been invited to visit and they have little idea how to make contact. Individuals at the Marae counter this by saying that they are very busy working for their own people and do not have the energy to put into making contact with the wider community. A Pakeha couple put it into these terms:

They say there is racism in Kaikoura and it cuts both ways - it is largely caused by ignorance and because of the ignorance there is conflict and maybe some anger - some of it linked to Treaty of Waitangi claims. At the moment, Maori are separating themselves off a little bit - mainly through their involvement with the Marae but P sees it as a similar process to recovery from different forms of abuse. When dealing with abuse, the victim has to go away and lick her/his wounds for a while and avoid contact with the abuser, and that's where she sees that Maori are now.

Another factor which contributes to these relationships is the rise of Maori identity at the national level. The negotiations and debates surrounding the land and fisheries settlement claims that appear in the media from time to time are, for many Pakeha, their main source of information about Maori. Obviously, this distorts their perceptions of Maori - apart from anything else by making them appear as a single group rather than as a set of individuals, *iwi* or *hapu* with different ideas and opinions. During the research period, the salience of these kind of claims has been high for Kaikoura as the Ngai Tahu Claim was settled in 1997 and formally signed in late 1997 at Takahanga Marae. The feelings in Kaikoura arise from a mixture of the local level politics and the media debate that is occurring at national level. For one Pakeha interviewee, the situation was expressed in the following way.

I have a few beers with them. In general though, I think the problems with the race relations in New Zealand [pause] . . . [we've] got to be very careful I think. I think there are things that have gone wrong and fair enough you've got to put 'em right, but at the same stage, . . . I was born here, my parents were born here and my grandfather was born here. We've got some rights too.

... as long as its fair no problems. I think if it starts coming to the stage where they're saying they own the whales or the dolphins or whatever and they claim half the land and its all given to them and you've got to balance that - that's right through the whole country. I think we work very well here - but as a New Zealand thing I think there is a big issue that needs to be handled properly.

All in all, at this stage in Kaikoura, as in many parts of New Zealand, the recent debates have chosen to focus both groups on the differences between Maori and Pakeha. Many Pakeha feel that this is a step back from how the relationship used to be where the differences were largely ignored, however, it seems that both Pakeha and Maori have a long way to go before they can communicate effectively through the differences. Part of this at least comes down to a lack of self confidence. Only in the last decade have New Zealand Europeans begun to think about their own identity as New Zealanders (see King 1991) and, although some Maori appear secure, there are debates about what their culture means and ought to mean in today's New Zealand. This lack of self definition means that neither side are yet able to communicate well with each other on important issues where the two groups differ.

A few Pakeha say that racism arises from jealousies associated with the changes that local Maori have created by becoming the owners and operators of a very successful business. Through the success of Whale Watch, they are more visible and have more status than they used to.

There's a real problem with racism here - no-one liked the fact that the Maori were suddenly running a successful Whale Watch business. They were used to Maoris being bums and unsuccessful and liked the fact that they could take the high moral ground and look down on them, so when they started to get out of that, there was no high moral ground to stand on any more! Every business makes mistakes but when Whale Watch made mistakes the comments always attributed it to the fact that the Maoris never could get anything right.

What has been of major importance in the changing status of Maori in Kaikoura is the growing political and economic power of Ngai Tahu and other Iwi within the New Zealand context. The growth and management of Whale Watch, has met with community resistance as would also be expected. Of particular disagreement is the monopoly status of the company with regard to whalewatching by boat in Kaikoura. Once the Ngai Tahu Trust Board joined Whale Watch as partners, they were able to use a national level acceptance of the changing status of Maori to maintain their position locally. Much of the recent growth and development of Whale Watch, and the concomitant change in status of Maori, has thus been negotiated outside of the Kaikoura community. This action negated many possible moves that current power structures might use to marginalise them. In addition, the requirement in New Zealand legislation that Maori be consulted in the local planning process has also increased the political power that Kati Kuri have. While the changes represent a major improvement on past practice, and while they may not have been so quickly achieved had these negotiations had to go on at local level, the marginalisation of the Pakeha community in this process has resulted in a lack of understanding between the groups. This lack of understanding along with the lack of any obvious local fora to discuss these issues, helps to maintain the hiatus between the two communities.

4.4.5 Lack of Leadership

The local Council is the place that one might expect leadership to exist, and to some extent it does, however, there is, within the community, distrust of the Council as it currently stands. This may stem partly from a national disinterest in local body politics and partly from a distrust that Kaikoura people have of their council in particular (Mulgan, 1994). A more detailed account of the problems faced by the Kaikoura District Council is outlined in section 7.3 of this report. It seems, therefore, that Kaikoura has distinct difficulties with leadership which make it difficult to move ahead. This is not a new feature of the town. Warren and Taylor (1994) discuss similar issues in their paper noting that the adequate planning and development for tourism is only possible with the co-operation of the Kaikoura District Council and that tourism operators did not feel that they had this.

4.5 Conclusions

There are many people living in the Kaikoura community who have very long term links to the area. Local people tend to distinguish between community members with long term family links going back several generations, and those who are newcomers to the area. Even without looking at family links, there are many people who have lived in Kaikoura for over 20 years and interviews indicate that there is some tension created in the town by incomers interested in developing tourism in the area. This division raises questions such as should individuals with the longer personal histories in the area have more say about what happens in their area? Length of residence may indicate the level of attachment an individual feels towards a place, particularly today where it is relatively easy to leave the area to work and live elsewhere. The division between long-term and short-term residents indicates that locals perceive degrees of being local, however, there are few mechanisms available for the public policy and planning process to acknowledge these differences. This same issue has created problems in other areas (see for example Wyllie, 1998)

The attention of Kaikoura people has been focused on unemployment because of the devastating effects of government restructuring on the local economy, and it is maintained because of government employment policy. The New Zealand Government no longer considers full employment a realistic aim for New Zealand. Instead, some unemployment is now considered desirable in a dynamic labour market (Kelsey, 1995; Chapple 1996).

Given the liberalist focus of recent governments in New Zealand, a policy of having some unemployment may theoretically make sense. The basis of maintaining some unemployment is that unemployed individuals will adapt, retrain or move so that they can re-enter the labour market. Therefore no one person should be unemployed for long periods. In reality, many unemployed individuals, through lack of skills, access to training and local opportunity, become long term unemployed. This is likely to be accentuated amongst lower income groups who cannot afford to move easily and for whom extended family are important for functions such as childcare.

At the local level, particularly in small communities, unemployment and its associated problems (for example drug and alcohol abuse or youth suicide (see Shirley, Easton, Briar and Chatterjee (1990) for further development of this), are more difficult to ignore than is the case in larger centres. The paradox is that people in small communities will therefore feel the effects of unemployment more strongly than their counterparts in big centres but they are also most vulnerable to unemployment because of the effects of centralisation.

This paradox accentuates the focus that people in Kaikoura have on employment, a subject central to the popular discourses on tourism development in the area. Furthermore, in many cases, the discourse on employment includes a desire for outside investment. In reality, the businesses that are surviving best and have the community's employment and economic interests at heart are all locally owned and operated. For example, the locally owned saw mill has seen fit to diversify its operation in recent years, whereas the fish factory owned by outsiders Pacifica Fisheries has laid off more than 20 staff in the last year, because it became more convenient to move some of its operations elsewhere. Similarly, the locally owned and operated Dairy Co-operative is New Zealand's smallest but has survived by catering for specialist overseas markets, where others in New Zealand have closed down. Whale Watch is another large employer that is very unlikely to move its operation out of Kaikoura. Similarly, the myriad of small businesses in the area that are largely owned and operated locally seem unlikely to move their operation away from the area because it is better to set up business in a larger city. Locally owned and operated businesses are thus far more secure in the long term than businesses started up by outsiders who at any time may retain the option to move their operation out of the area, and who may not feel a deep sense of personal connection with the people that they employ or the community within which they work. Going on past experience, attracting outside investment does not seem to be a good long term policy for Kaikoura.

The community in Kaikoura is, paradoxically, at once close knit and much divided. Residents consider the community to be close knit, which it is, in the sense that residents know or recognise each other as locals because the town is small. However, there are also many divisions in the town, which are largely ignored by locals when community life is settled. Most residents know each other and the relative status or 'place' of individuals within their community, so, during settled times, there is a clear, generally accepted pattern of interaction between different groups. Psychologists refer to these patterns as *schema* (Mandler, 1990). While the status quo is maintained, the divisions remain, but there is little overt community tension. However even small changes in the relative status of families or groups can disrupt the patterns of interaction and a "change back" reaction occurs aimed at returning to familiar patterns. Therefore, communities are in a state of continuous tension which "overbalances" when change occurs. This *interruption* or *discrepancy* in the familiar patterns results in an uncomfortable emotional response aimed at trying to recover these patterns. If this change-back strategy is unsuccessful, individuals will then begin the process of adapting to the new conditions (Mandler, 1990). One might speculate that the higher the expectation of succeeding in a bid to return to old patterns, the longer the period during which individuals try to effect a change-back, before adapting. Rivalries between families may be interpreted as a form of power play and seen as a similar phenomenon (although lesser in extent) to the racism discussed later in the section.

In this light, the racism that locals speak of can be seen as a similar process of adaptation. Whatever group in the community changed its status, there would have been a backlash as the community struggled to maintain homeostasis. Maori have achieved an enormous change in status, making the resistance within the community all the larger. The building of the Marae was a big undertaking for a small group of marginalised and relatively low income people, and, as would be predicted, it met with considerable resistance from some of the Pakeha community and its institutions. Naturally, this has left those Maori involved with the development of this and other initiatives angry and bitter at the attitudes of the community that they have been part of for so long.

A similar pattern is described by Reed (1997), who showed that planning for tourism development in Squamish, Canada, required the development of new political structures in the town. Groups who originally had the political power in the community made efforts to maintain their power by trying to marginalise the efforts of the new players. The small size of Kaikoura (3700 compared with 13 000 in Squamish) would imply that the importance of individual players and small groups in this kind of power play will increase. This means that any group seen to be trying to improve their position within the community will meet with resistance. One also might expect that the lower the perceived status of a group, the more difficult it will be to push through resistance. This makes the changed position of local Maori particularly interesting. It also gives further insight into racism in the area.

So far, this report has outlined some of the social and historical context into which tourism has been cast. As Crick (1989) and Pearce, Moscardo and Ross (1996) note, an understanding of these contexts is important in understanding the effect that tourism has on the local community and the effect that the local community has on tourism. Tourism thus may introduce

the possibility of new conflicts within small communities and between such communities and larger, embracing political structures (Crick, 1989: 338).

Alternatively, it may expose and/or emphasise the structures, processes and tensions that already exist (Byrne, Edmondson and Fahy, 1993; Crick, 1989; Pearce et al., 1996; Reed, 1997). The next sections of this report discuss how tourism has developed within these contexts. The next section looks at the current structure of tourism in Kaikoura and the way that it has developed within the contexts outlined in the preceding sections of the report.

Chapter 5

The Structure of Tourism in Kaikoura

5.1 Introduction

Kaikoura has always had visitors who came to the area for its recreational opportunities. A small number of New Zealanders, some of whom owned baches or holiday homes in the area, and some of whom camped during summer, came to the area to enjoy the landscape and the boating and fishing opportunities. Another group of visitors who have previously had a presence in Kaikoura are those travelling between Christchurch and Picton. The Picton - Wellington ferries began operation in 1962, increasing the importance of both the railway line and the road between Christchurch and Picton. For people travelling on State Highway 1, Kaikoura is a convenient place to take a break and buy refreshments or petrol before continuing on their journey. A few of these through travellers stay the night in Kaikoura whilst in transit. Thus, prior to 1988, tourism in Kaikoura was very small and almost entirely domestic in nature.

Kaikoura now attracts many international visitors who come to see and experience a range of activities based mainly on the marine mammals found unusually close to shore. There are now opportunities for whalewatching and swimming with both dolphins and seals available in Kaikoura. Whalewatching began in Kaikoura in 1988 when Naturewatch tours first began trading, and is now run exclusively by Whale Watch Kaikoura. In addition, visitors can fly out to see the whales in either small fixed wing aircraft or in a helicopter. Similarly dolphin swimming and seal swimming are popular activities with shark swimming having been recently added to the list of activities for visitors to do. Some local fishers also run fishing trips, while local farmers are now involved with farmstays, and other activities such as horse trekking and four-wheel-bike safaris.

Most of the tourism businesses in Kaikoura are locally owned and operated. The major attractions - whalewatching, dolphin swimming and seal swimming - are all owned and operated within Kaikoura. Whale Watch is 49 per cent owned by Ngai Tahu, an organisation with strong links to the Maori community in Kaikoura. The other 51 per cent is owned by Kati Kuri. Other tourist activities and accommodation are small in nature and run by owner-operators, many of whom belong to Kaikoura Information and Tourism Incorporated (KITI), an organisation set up to co-ordinate the efforts of individual businesses within the area.

Some small-scale tourism businesses appear to be “personally unsustainable”, thus, the turnover of residents in some businesses is particularly high. This lack of sustainability arises because people in small tourism businesses may not be able to pay extra staff, and so are on call for seven days of the week for long hours each day. In addition, there can be much stress associated with the unrelenting need to be polite and co-operative at all times, no matter how difficult the customers may be. The long hours of face-to-face contact is perhaps the thing that distinguishes tourism businesses from other small businesses in the area. For example, moteliers seldom stay in the business for more than five years and a three year turnaround seems to be most common in Kaikoura. This means that the turnover of residents within the tourism sector is high compared with other parts of the community.

Although many of these businesses are locally owned and operated, many of the tourist businesses are owned by people who are regarded as outsiders even though they live in the area while they are running their business. This means that tourist operators are sometimes differentiated from 'real' locals. Some residents, particularly those outside tourism, feel that very few 'real' locals are involved with tourism which means that tourism operators may be seen as " 'fly-by-nighters' who come in and walk all over the locals" as one local woman put it. They come into the area, make their money and then leave again, having "changed things in Kaikoura to suit their needs, while forgetting the people that make the town what it is" (diary notes 18/09/97). Thus, some long term residents feel that the tourism industry is driven by 'outsiders' who come into the area, make their money, then move away, taking their money with them. Tourism therefore has accentuated the split between long term locals and short term ones.

5.2 Whale Watch

Whale Watch forms a large part of the basis of tourism in Kaikoura. There are varying stories about the beginnings of Whale Watch (see Ansley, 1991 for some of them), and currently, there are arguments about who had the idea of whalewatching first. This section does not aim to present the truth (it is doubtful whether anyone could), but the stories reflect things that are said around the community. It appears that, whatever happened, whalewatching in Kaikoura, was almost bound to happen in the context of high unemployment and high local need for innovative development. Whales were commonly seen around Kaikoura but it had not previously occurred to locals that people would pay money to go out and see whales. The following paragraphs tell the story (pieced together from various sources including newspaper articles (Kaikoura Express 29/3/1988, p. 6; Kaikoura Star, 1989, exact date unknown), interviews and general conversations about the two companies that initially set up whalewatching operations³. The author aims to show how the events and stories surrounding those events are placed in the historical and social context of the community both then and now. This section thus provides another example that illustrates how the effects of tourism development must be studied within these contexts.

5.2.1 The Development of Naturewatch

Barbara Todd, a whale researcher involved with "whaleschools" (a form of whalewatching) in the San Juan Islands in the USA, came to Kaikoura in November 1982. She came with another member of her research team in the summer months to look at the sperm whales in the area. The team wanted to set up a research project to be run in conjunction with the work they were doing in the USA. However, after ascertaining that whales were in the area for a large part of the year, they could find no New Zealand support for the idea.

In the early 80s there was no interest in, or knowledge of, whales in New Zealand. The Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries had no interest in the whales (since they had no commercial value), even though they were charged with administering the Marine Mammals Protection Act 1978. There was no Department of Conservation until 1987, and there was little or nothing being done in the universities here, so there was no-one with whom to set up a research partnership in New Zealand. This lack of New Zealand interest combined with

³ See TREC paper number ***(maori) for a fuller outline of the history of Whale Watch.

some other problems in the USA meant that the idea of setting up any kind of research project was jettisoned. However Todd returned to Kaikoura in 1984 anyway to see what the whales were like during the other months of the year. Without funding, she was unable to hire a boat so she approached some local fishers to see if they would take her out when they went fishing. Roger Sutherland was the one that obliged.

Around the same time, a friend of Todd's was studying the Dusky Dolphins in the area, and they discussed the idea of setting up something like Earthwatch, an organisation which works by people paying to come and see whales while at the same time helping with research. According to a letter to the editor of the Kaikoura Star (Todd and Sutherland, 1995), they attempted to get permission from the Ministry of Transport to operate a commercial vessel on two separate occasions in 1984. However, they found that they could not survey a small boat to take passengers out because there were no limits⁴ established for Kaikoura at the time, which meant that the whole marine area around Kaikoura was classed as open sea. The result of this was that it was impossible to take paying passengers out in a small vessel because of the requirements of the Ministry of Transport. The idea was dropped.

Some time afterwards, Sutherland was able to see with his own eyes that people would actually pay to go and see whales when he and Todd visited Friday Harbour in the San Juan Islands, USA. This trip really brought home the potential of whalewatching in Kaikoura to Sutherland, and so the idea was reignited. On their return, they found that if they could use a boat under 20 feet or six metres in length, then they could take passengers out. They also talked with local Maori who were interested in setting up a Whale Watch operation, however, Maori did not yet have the resources to begin. It appears that Todd felt that their starting a business would not disadvantage Maori because she and Sutherland would test the market and take the initial risks. If Maori chose to start up later on, they at least would know if there was a market and would benefit from the experience of Naturewatch.

Naturewatch began in March 1988 offering a range of products, from packages of three to ten days, to trips of two hours in duration. To get the business up and running, they offered to do almost anything that people wanted (see the initial advertising: Kaikoura Star, March 1988). What proved most popular were the short 2-3 hour trips. Coverage on national television created a good demand for whalewatching and from then on the business took off. At that time the clientele were nearly all New Zealanders and the tourism that resulted from whalewatching was not very seasonal.

According to a range of local sources, Maori began trading as Kaikoura Tours in 1989, and the two operators worked well together. After three years, Sutherland and Todd decided to sell the business. In spite of a high offers from an overseas buyer (Ansley, 1991), the business was effectively sold to Kaikoura Tours mainly because Todd felt that the permit

⁴ limits in this context are boundaries within which there is some kind of safe harbour for boats and outside of these limits is classed as open sea. In open sea, to take passengers, a skipper must have the a large boat and a masters certificate. Inside the limits the requirements are less stringent.

should stay in local hands. The two organisations merged to begin with, mainly (it appears) to get around the problems of transferring the permit (which, at the time was non-transferable). Regulations governing the transfer and operations of permits for tourist operators' use of wild marine mammals were not gazetted until 16th November 1992 (see Marine Mammals Protection Regulations 1992).

5.2.2 Whale Watch's Story

Kaikoura tours emerged as a result of one Marae employment initiative. People at the Marae say that Barbara Todd was paid to study the viability of a Whale Watch operation before it was set up. However, Todd and Sutherland deny that they were ever hired to study the whales for the Marae (Todd and Sutherland, 1995), although they admit hiring out their boat. Kaikoura Tours began operating in 1989. When Todd and Sutherland sold their permit, Ngai Tahu were brought in as partners in the business, because local Maori were unable to raise the money required to buy them out. This in itself has created some tension within the Maori community, because Ngai Tahu brought with them some philosophies which differed from those of the locals who initially set up the company.

5.2.3 Politics Surrounding Whale Watch and Naturewatch

The arguments over the order and meaning of these events seem to have developed more recently - for example, letters to the editor in the Kaikoura Star do not appear until 1995, four years after Kaikoura Tours and Nature watch merged. This may be because of the politics surrounding the monopoly that Whale Watch Kaikoura has on the sea-based whalewatching permits. On a Whale Watch initiative, an injunction was placed on the Department of Conservation preventing them from issuing any more permits. One of the premises of that ruling was that "Ngai Tahu" were the original developers of whalewatching in Kaikoura (Round, 1996:30). Having all Whale Watch permits in the hands of one company is not something that goes down well in New Zealand at the current time because of the focus on competition.

Any criticism of the Whale Watch operation or of the Marae is put down to racism by some Maori. Racism is a part of the Kaikoura community, however, to put all the tension down to this single cause is an oversimplification. Many of the criticisms levelled at Whale Watch would be levelled at any other company in the same position. The arguments about competition, for example, are heard just as loudly and the right to a monopoly was defended just as strongly by A.J. Hackett Bungy in Queenstown and Glacier guiding in Franz Josef. It is just that Maori used their position as Maori to defend their status as monopoly holders which in some ways gave the political strategy a racial focus.

A further addition to this has been created because it reflects national level issues over *tino rangatiratanga* or Maori sovereignty over their *taonga* (treasures) and resources. Local Maori argue that the whales are their *taonga*. Because the provisions in the Treaty of Waitangi guarantee Maori sovereignty over their *taonga*, Ngai Tahu rightly feel that they should be consulted about the use of natural resources such as the whales. The difficulty in this situation is that the organisation to be consulted on the basis of their guardianship (*kaitiakitanga*) of the whales also have both a direct economic interest in their exploitation and an interest in keeping permits out of the hands of competitors. Thus, their statutory and commercially dual positions have some philosophical difficulties associated with them.

5.2.4 Summary

Whale Watch emerged as the result of several influences. The restructuring of the 1980s left local Maori, in particular, in desperate need of employment initiatives while New Zealand as a whole was looking towards tourism as way out of its economic troubles. In addition, Kaikoura was discovered around this time by outsiders who realised its potential as an area with unusual natural resources. The tensions and arguments that surround Whale Watch's inception also reflect and exacerbate both local and national level tensions, particularly between Maori and Pakeha. Thus, race is an underlying issue associated with tourism in Kaikoura, however, the situation is more complex and involves things such as the philosophical positions of Ngai Tahu and a liberalist argument that competition should be encouraged (even if this is an argument that is used to serve the interests of those groups who want to "climb on the bandwagon").

Some locals feel that Todd and Sutherland did the Marae a disservice by setting up Naturewatch. However, it is difficult to say what would have happened if Todd and Sutherland had not set up Naturewatch. Would Kaikoura tours have been as successful without Todd's and Sutherland's experience to lead the way? Would some other locals, on seeing the success of Kaikoura tours, have tried to set up another Whale Watch business, and would the Department of Conservation based on its policy of "50-50 treaty partnership" (Ansley, 1991:24) have issued another permit before Ngai Tahu were able to formulate a successful political strategy to maintain their monopoly? Would Kaikoura tours have survived in the face of competition in those early years when they were starting up their business? Would another entrepreneur have sold their permit off-shore? At worst, Todd and Sutherland stole the Marae's idea and won the race to start a business based on the whales. At best they helped pave the way to a successful Whale Watch business run by local Maori. Reality probably lies somewhere in between. However, current community divisions and characteristics along with nationwide debate over *tino rangatiratanga* and *kaitiakitanga* maintain the interpretations generally given to the differing stories. These stories indicate that the history of one of the major organisations in Kaikoura tourism has helped to accentuate the Maori-Pakeha division that existed in the community prior to the development of tourism.

5.3 Kaikoura Information and Tourism Incorporated (KITI)

KITI is a non-profit organisation set up to co-ordinate the efforts and resources of the many individual businesses in Kaikoura. In 1986, at a time when the town was struggling to cope with the changes brought about by restructuring, a few interested locals set KITI up "to promote and encourage the development of Kaikoura, especially in the area of tourism" (History of Kaikoura Visitor Information Centre, 1995). In 1991, after Whale Watch was set up and tourism was growing in Kaikoura, plans began for the current venue in the town centre.

KITI provide a range of services in Kaikoura and are funded from a range of sources. Part of the work that KITI currently does is to provide an information service for the Department of Conservation. The Department of Conservation is considered a silent partner in the centre. Although it provides no on-going funding it was instrumental in providing the land and a considerable amount of funding for the building that houses the operation. As well as this, KITI offer information and booking services for a wide range of tourist activities and

services. Much of this work is done on a commission basis which provides a large part of the money that they need to operate. The Council currently funds the office to the tune of \$16,000 per year, which goes little way towards employing staff. Further funding comes from a range of grants which must be applied for each year. In addition to bookings and co-ordination, KITI organise “Seafest”, a one day wine and food festival, which has been run for the last three years with the aim of attracting people into the town in Early October. It is also seen as a way to market Kaikoura and its associated attractions.

KITI are experiencing difficulty convincing a wide cross section of the business community to join them. Many businesses in the town do not perceive themselves to be tourism businesses and therefore they do not see the point of joining the organisation. In comparison KITI members feel that all businesses benefit from tourism in the area and therefore they should join. Within the tourism sector a further difficulty is that many operators also complain that tourist businesses are not that profitable. This particular issue is raised mostly in discussions of the way that rates are levied in Kaikoura.

5.4 The Kaikoura District Council

At the current time, the Kaikoura District Council is the main body involved in managing tourism development in the area. Their role is a particularly difficult one and, in general, very few residents are happy with the way that the Council has managed tourism development in the area. This is the result of several different factors which will be outlined in this order in the following paragraphs:

- 1) a short term institutional memory,
- 2) the effects of restructuring,
- 3) a small rating base which results in a shortage of human and personnel resources,
- 4) locals’ perceptions of the elected councillors,
- 5) the legacy left by previous councils,
- 6) the personalities involved in council over the past few years and
- 7) the complexity of the decisions and issues that Council has to deal with.

The paragraphs following on from these outline the role that the council has in managing tourism, and the legislative processes that they use to plan for future development in the area.

5.4.1 Difficulties Faced by Council

First, the Kaikoura District Council has a very short term institutional memory arising from a high turnover of Council staff. The small size of the Kaikoura District Council means that they do not attract experienced staff; rather, Kaikoura is seen as a place where staff gain experience before moving on to another job in a bigger place. Thus, staff in Kaikoura do not always get a chance to know the area well. This lack of local knowledge adds some truth to the local assertion that none of the staff are “real” locals and that they do not know the area. The ‘non-local’ status of Council staff further frustrates locals, particularly in relation to the regulatory role of Council. Many locals blame individual staff members for decisions against

them when in fact the staff member is only trying to balance demands from several directions. Finally, the small size of the community (which means that Council staff are easily recognised around town) and the general dislike that the community has for the Council and its regulatory roles, makes working at the Council a difficult experience, particularly for young staff who move into the area without family. This is an uncomfortable position for many people to be in and adds to the inclination of staff to leave the area which shortens the institutional memory even further. Thus, the council is caught in a series of self-reinforcing problems which detract from its ability to manage the local area and the perceptions of the local community.

Second, Kaikoura District Council, like all other territorial local authorities, have to deal with changes imposed on them as a result of central government activities (Thompson, 1998). A range of new functions as a result of the Resource Management Act 1991 and the ongoing local body reforms that began in 1989 have increased the complexity of their job. Most of the community cannot see why the staff are needed, because many of the functions they perform have been prescribed by national level government and are not well understood locally.

Third, Kaikoura District Council, with its small rating base, has relatively few full-time staff compared with other councils around New Zealand. The tasks required by a small number of ratepayers are not always concomitantly smaller than those performed for a large number of ratepayers, so that individuals can find themselves on call for long hours or find it difficult to get away on holiday, because there is no-one else to help take care of a crisis. Staff in Kaikoura undertake a wide range of tasks, because they have to perform the same functions as all other local authorities, but with fewer people. This may add variety to people's jobs but it can also add stress where an individual is not comfortable with all aspects of their job. In addition, the Council has to use outside consultants for specialist tasks. To locals, the cost of consultants seems enormous, and exacerbates the perception that Kaikoura and the Council are run by outsiders who do not know the community nor the area. This is not entirely unreasonable because, although consultants are good at managing the legal requirements of a task, they do not know the community well and often cannot spend time trying to do so. This has led to one or two bad decisions being taken at the recommendation of consultants, thereby making residents more suspicious of consultants than they are of their own Council staff.

Fourth, locals profess to be just as unhappy with their elected councillors, saying that it is the 'same old people' on the Council. This assertion is untrue, since four of the seven elected councillors are serving their first term and the rest are in their second term. There may be a number of reasons for this perception in Kaikoura. Mulgan (1994: 189) states that at the local level, political parties are unimportant because:

The main channels of political influence and accountability are informal and personal. In forming the political judgements, local councillors rely much more on their own individual experience and the opinions of their acquaintances. . . . The social characteristics of local body members therefore become particularly significant for assessing the interests which are served by local government.

Thus, it appears that what people may be alluding to in this accusation is that the councillors come from the same social groupings. In addition, councillors must be able to take time off work to attend council meetings and to do the mass of unpaid work that is required of them. This automatically limits who can go on councils to those who own established businesses. Thus, as Mulgan (1994) says, local body politics across New Zealand are dominated by the agricultural sector in rural areas and by established business-people in urban areas. This is the case in Kaikoura where the agricultural sector is very well represented, as are established local businesses. However, there is not good representation of the other sectors of the community including retirees, the unemployed, the tourism industry or the fishing industry. It may be the continued dominance of the traditional power groups in Kaikoura that makes individuals conclude that it is the “same old people” in Council, and this dominance is likely to be more apparent when the economic base of an area is changing.

Another possible (although less likely) explanation may be that, because councillors in Kaikoura, like local body politicians across New Zealand (Mulgan, 1994), have been active members of the community serving in sports clubs, service clubs and other volunteer organisations, they are people who have always had some prominence within the community. Mulgan suggests that local body politicians are the type of people who are heavily involved with rotary clubs and other community organisations such as churches sports clubs etc. Kaikoura also fits well into this model.

Fifth, current staff and councillors alike are having to manage problems that started with the operation of past councils. According to Council staff, rates in Kaikoura have been kept artificially low by both: ignoring the need for maintenance, development and regulation in the past; and running down financial reserves. With the reserves gone and the infrastructure in the township increasingly in need of attention, the rate take had to go up around 45 per cent in 1996, which made the newly elected council very unpopular.

A sixth factor that influences the way that the Council has been seen is the personalities that have been part of the Council in the past. For example, many locals felt that the last chief executive officer made decisions without enough consultation, whereas the one previous to him is said to have had the opposite problem and tended to prefer to avoid difficult decisions. The personalities of the mayors over the course of that time were also important in either exacerbating a problem or ameliorating it. Therefore, the personalities of the people in Council and the way that they work together has a significant effect on the outcomes of community projects and the way they are perceived.

A seventh problem faced by any council is that they must make complex decisions, sometimes about things of which they have little or no experience. The limited range of backgrounds represented on councils, as outlined above, means that to be effective, councillors must be prepared to read and learn about what they are doing, something for which previous leadership roles may not prepare them, and something which requires much time. In addition, the different backgrounds of Council staff or consultants and local councillors can make it difficult to communicate, because the former may not be aware of what councillors need to know, and the latter may not know what they need to ask.

To add to this problem, the community has a low participation rate which worries both staff and councillors alike. New Zealanders as a whole are apathetic towards local body politics, a fact which Mulgan (1994) puts down to the non-partisan style of local government. Many Kaikoura people say they do not participate because they do not believe that the Council will listen to them. This lack of participation can also be attributed to the way that different groups in the community are seen by others and the way that they see themselves. For example, there is a good breadth of knowledge in the retired age groups, for example but because many retirees have not been living in the area all their lives, and may not have family connections, they are not part of the informal power networks in the community. At the same time, they do not participate formally in council business because they feel that as retirees it is nothing to do with them. This lack of participation adds to the problem of making complex decisions.

Finally, because of all these factors and the pace of tourism development in Kaikoura, the Council and the consultants that it employed have not always been able to make good decisions about what and how development should occur.

5.4.2 The Role of the District Council

The Kaikoura District Council have a role in managing tourism development through the provisions of the Resource Management Act 1991 and in their role as providers of public amenities in the Kaikoura district. Very few people in the community are entirely happy with what the Council has done for tourism so far, but it is perhaps significant that this is occurring right across the range of community opinions about tourism. On one hand, tourist operators say that they are not well supported by the Council, and many of them are particularly unhappy that their rates have gone up. On the other hand, some residents feel that the Council has spent too much money on tourism and that the development has been too fast. Beautification, traffic calming, parking facilities and the development of South Bay as a boat launching and loading facility are all things that people in Kaikoura mention as problematic. This is reminiscent of the situation that Ross and Nisbett (1991:72) allude to when they say that *two opposing partisan groups respond to the same body of mixed and inconclusive evidence by increasing the strength and polarization of their respective beliefs* and would indicate that although the Council is generally unpopular, it is taking account of the range of opinion within the community. The difficulties that the Council in Kaikoura are facing are to some extent found in other tourism areas. The complex nature of the problems that arise through tourism, and the need for local authorities to take account of both public and private sector needs in their area, makes decision-making and planning difficult at the best of times (see Getz and Jamal, 1994; Richins, 1997; Simmons forthcoming). The small size of Kaikoura and its limited financial resources make these problems all the more acute. In addition, the power-play between different community groups may also influence the development of tourism (Reed, 1997), and the local authority is central to the power play in Kaikoura as in other areas around New Zealand (Mulgan, 1994).

The Resource Management Act 1991 is the main piece of legislation governing local land-based development. In Kaikoura, the next district plan is in the process of development, and this is the first district plan written when residents are aware of tourism. This sets out the restrictions that will be in place for the next ten years and outlines the resources that local people see as important in their area. The development of the Resource Management Act involved two major groups with very different foci - business people were concerned to free up the restrictive nature of past legislation (the Town and Country Planning Act), while

conservationists were concerned about limiting development that might be detrimental to the environment. According to Thompson, Ellis and Wildavsky (1990), these two groups are likely to have very different views of natural resource systems, which directly oppose one another. Where conservationists see nature as fragile and in need of protecting, people in organisations such as the New Zealand Business Roundtable see it as essentially forgiving and indestructible. This difference means that the Resource Management Act is aimed at achieving both greater freedom for developers and entrepreneurs as well as greater protection for the natural environment. These would seem to have potential for incompatibility and contradiction. Gleeson (1996) outlines problems with the way the Resource Management Act is working and some of their findings reflect concerns expressed in Kaikoura. Some individuals felt that the Resource Management Act was disadvantaging local people trying to set up businesses because the costs for the small entrepreneur are as big as they are for big business. Obviously the burden of these costs means that it is much more daunting for individuals who are inexperienced in the way that the Resource Management Act is administered and they are also likely to find the whole process relatively more expensive. The same problems of expense can be aimed at the way that permission is granted for building, so that relatively speaking, the small business is paying more than individuals from larger businesses. In addition, in other centres around New Zealand, there is evidence that big business is tending to buy the signatures of near neighbours by offering money in return for neighbours signing off their rights to object to developments. This can be a problem where the individuals concerned may not realise the full implications of a new development in their area. The Resource Management Act thus tends to favour large developments by big business rather than those initiated by small scale local business entrepreneurs.

A further concern expressed by one or two local people was that it seems that in other places, even where local people strongly object to a new development, it can be almost impossible to stop it, particularly if that particular form of development was not considered during the development of the District Plan, and/or if the investor concerned has enough money to keep pushing. The Casino in Queenstown and the development of the Gondola on the Christchurch Port Hills are cases in point.

5.5 Department of Conservation

The Department of Conservation is a national-level department responsible for the conservation of natural resources throughout New Zealand. It has also been a major player in the development and management of tourism in Kaikoura because of the industry's reliance on the marine mammals in the area. In comparison to the local Council, the Department of Conservation are relatively well liked, which is similar to what Warren and Taylor (1994) found. This is partly because local Department of Conservation staff are fewer in number and turn over much less frequently than their Council counterparts. Lower turnover means that they are well known by the locals, and also know the locals well. In addition, they are also not paid from local rates and so locals see them in a slightly different light to the Council staff. All these factors contribute to the generally positive attitude of the community towards the Department of Conservation. Another important reason for their popularity is that many of the negotiations that have gone on with respect to tourism are not done at the local level,

and therefore locals do not aim their criticisms at the local office but at some stranger at higher levels. Even the policing role that the local office has is accepted by the local operators thanks to the longer term local institutional memory which has allowed the staff at the Department of Conservation to demonstrate their ability to co-operate with, as well as police, the activities of operators.

Chapter 6

Residents' Perceptions of Tourism

6.1 Introduction

The residents' survey included questions about the costs and benefits of tourism to them personally and to the community as a whole. This section discusses the answers to those questions to get a broad picture of how people in Kaikoura are experiencing tourism. A final question in that series was phrased "what is your greatest concern about tourism in Kaikoura?" and the answers to this are outlined in a separate subsection, mainly because of its different format. In the cost-benefit questions, up to four answers were recorded, whereas only one answer was recorded for people's greatest concern. In addition, this question is treated separately from costs and benefits, because it allows respondents to express their concerns about what lies ahead rather than just to assess how they experience tourism in the present.

Overall, the community in Kaikoura is positively inclined towards tourism, however, there are groups who are wary of its potential to change the town that they call home for the worse. In addition, some people feel that tourism has already gone too far and is ruining the things that they like about their home. Figure 4 shows how people in the survey sample thought about the level of tourism development in Kaikoura. While 32.7 per cent (93 people) felt that it was about right at the present time, another 15.1 per cent (43 people) felt that Kaikoura needed much more tourism than it has now. In contrast, 7.4 per cent (or 21 people) felt that there was already far too much tourism in the area. These most negative sentiments are felt most frequently in the older age groups. The following sections of this report detail these findings and use qualitative data to elucidate further how and what Kaikoura residents think about tourism.

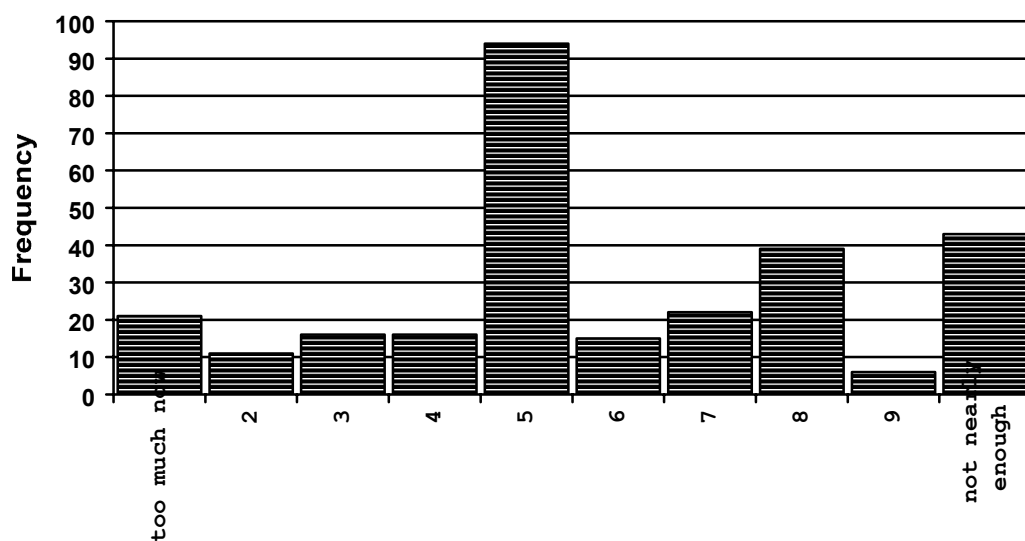


Figure 4
What Residents Think About Tourism Development In Kaikoura

6.2 Costs and Benefits

In the residents' survey, respondents were asked about both personal and community benefits in separate, open-ended questions. Over the whole sample, 158 people (54.3 per cent) reported that tourism provides personal benefits while 141 people (48.5 per cent), reported that tourism provides personal negative effects. Sixty eight people (or 24.5 per cent of the whole sample) said that there were both personal benefits and costs from tourism. In comparison to *personal* benefits and costs, 234 people (80.6 per cent) felt that the 'community as a whole' benefits from tourism. Maori are significantly more likely to say that they benefit personally from tourism than are Pakeha ($X^2 = 8.43649$, $df=2$, $p=0.01472$) which, presumably, results from the leading role that Maori have taken in the development of tourism in Kaikoura.

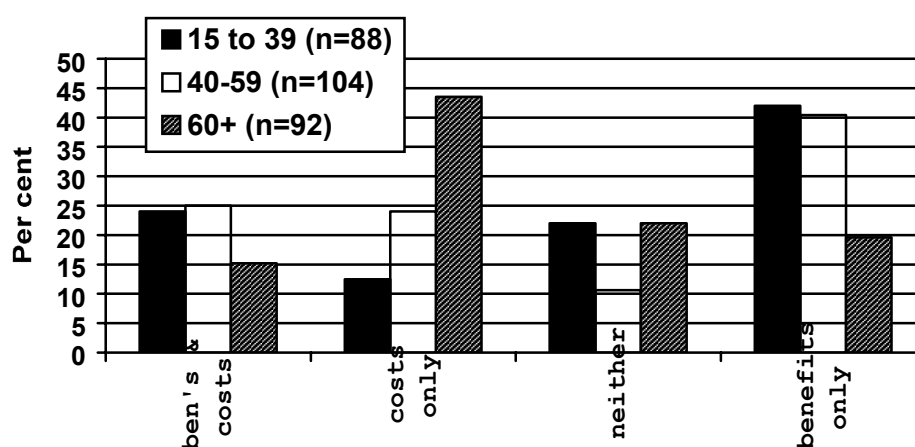


Figure 5
Age Groups' Assessments of Costs and Benefits

Figure 5 illustrates how respondents in three different age categories perceived tourism to be affecting them. Older people are the ones most likely to say that there have been costs for them personally from having tourism in their area, but not benefits. In comparison, the people who most frequently reported benefits but no costs were under 60 years of age ($X^2 = 32.22081$, $df=6$, $p=0.00001$).

Kaikoura people are much more in agreement about the benefits that they get from tourism as compared with its negative effects. More employment, more money and 'having lots of people making the town feel alive' are the benefits most often cited by respondents. These are also the benefits that people say the community gets from tourism. Figure 6 shows the benefits that residents mentioned during the telephone survey. The most frequently cited community benefit was that of employment mentioned by 138 people (47.4 per cent).

Figure 6
Personal Benefits of Tourism to Kaikoura Residents

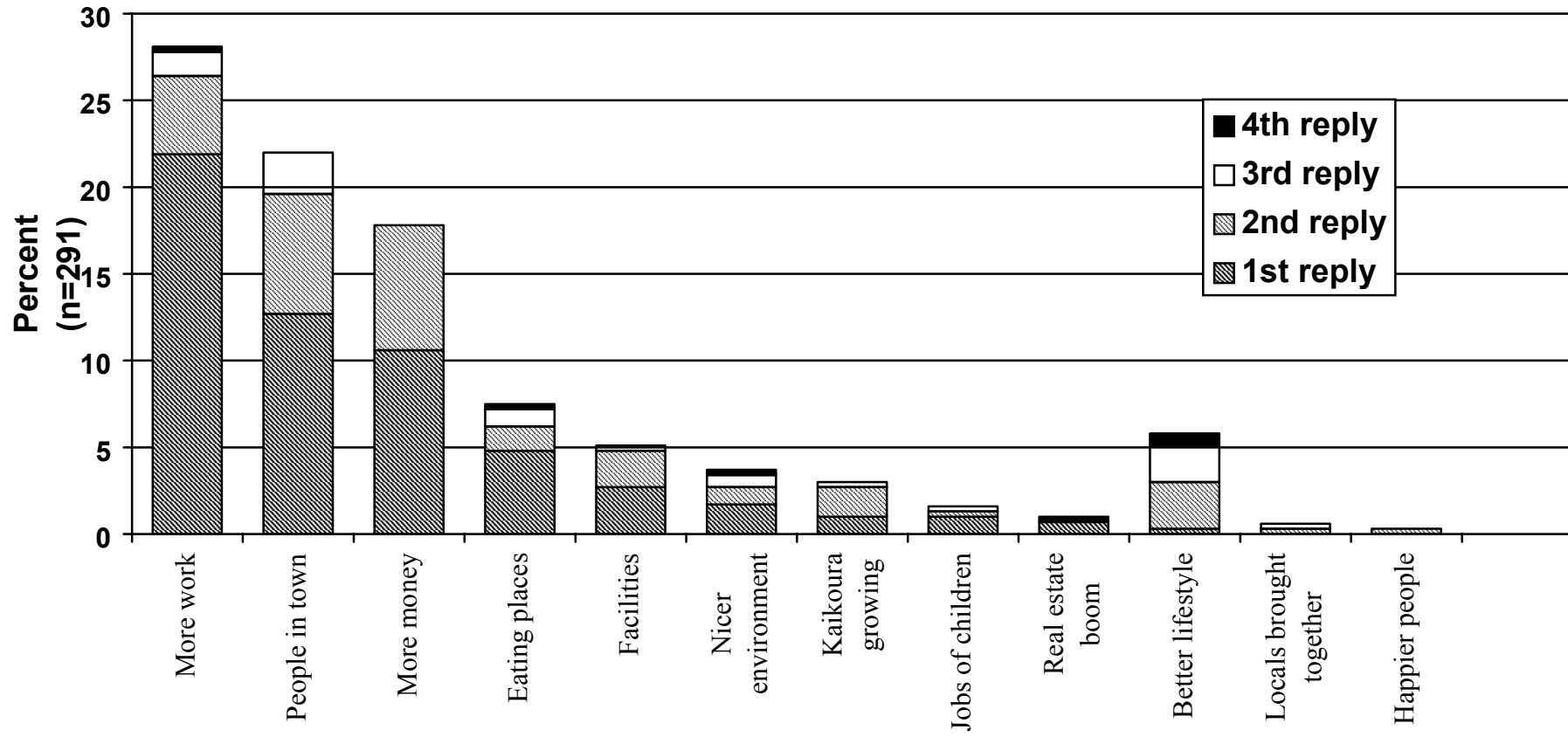
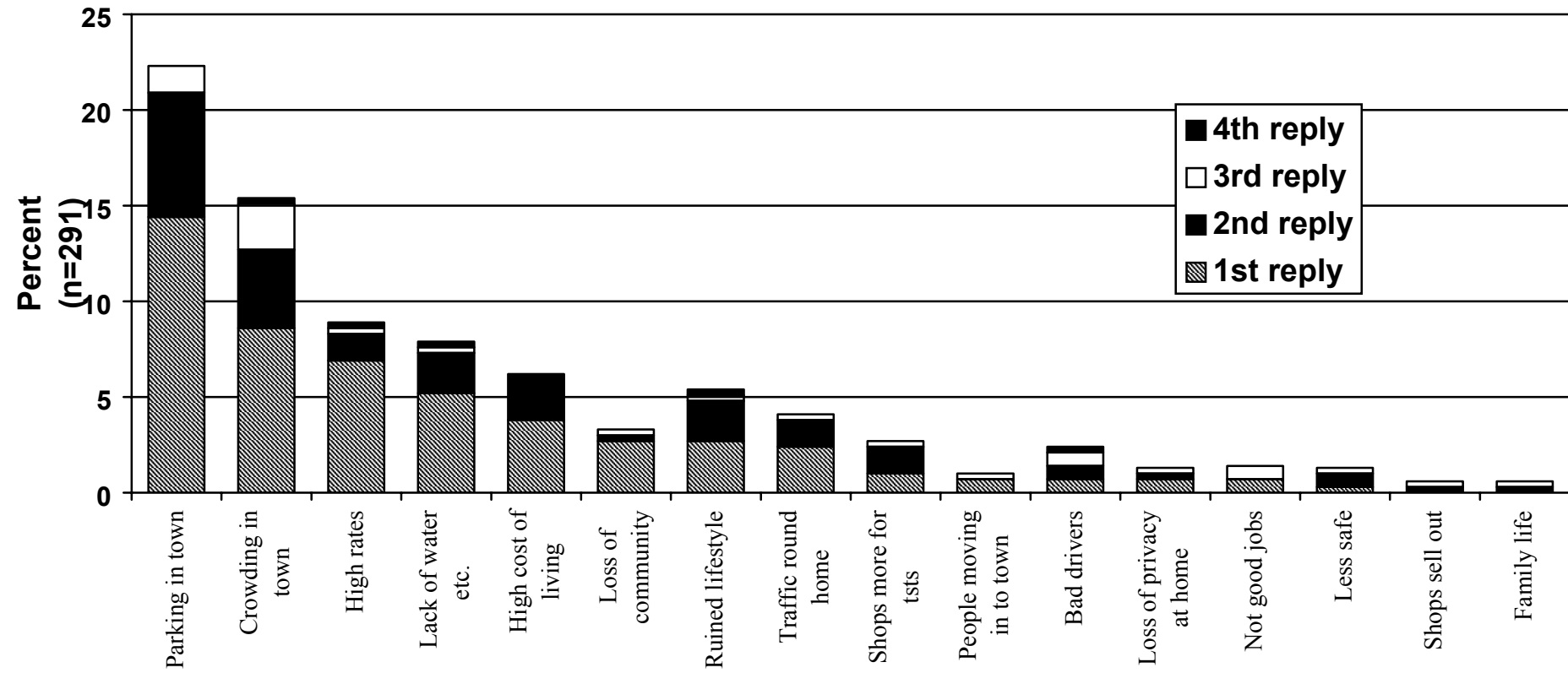


Figure 7
The Personal Costs of Tourism to Kaikoura Residents



Closely linked was the comment that tourism has brought more money into the town, which 38 per cent of the sample mentioned. The same theme is continued in the third most often cited community benefit - that tourism is good for businesses in the area. These economic benefits are likely to be high in the minds of a community who have undergone the rigours of restructuring that Kaikoura has. They also match much of the rhetoric surrounding tourism in New Zealand, which has included its potential to earn overseas dollars and to create employment.

A slightly wider range of negative impacts and a more even spread of replies across the categories (see

Figure 7) reflects the general absence of this kind of discussion in the media. The most frequently mentioned cost for people was “more parking problems in town”. “Crowding in town” was the second most important category and is in direct opposition to other residents who enjoy the summer atmosphere of the town with many people in it. After those categories come a range of comments linked to local infrastructure and the costs of living. The following paragraphs discuss the main costs and benefits that people reported in more detail.

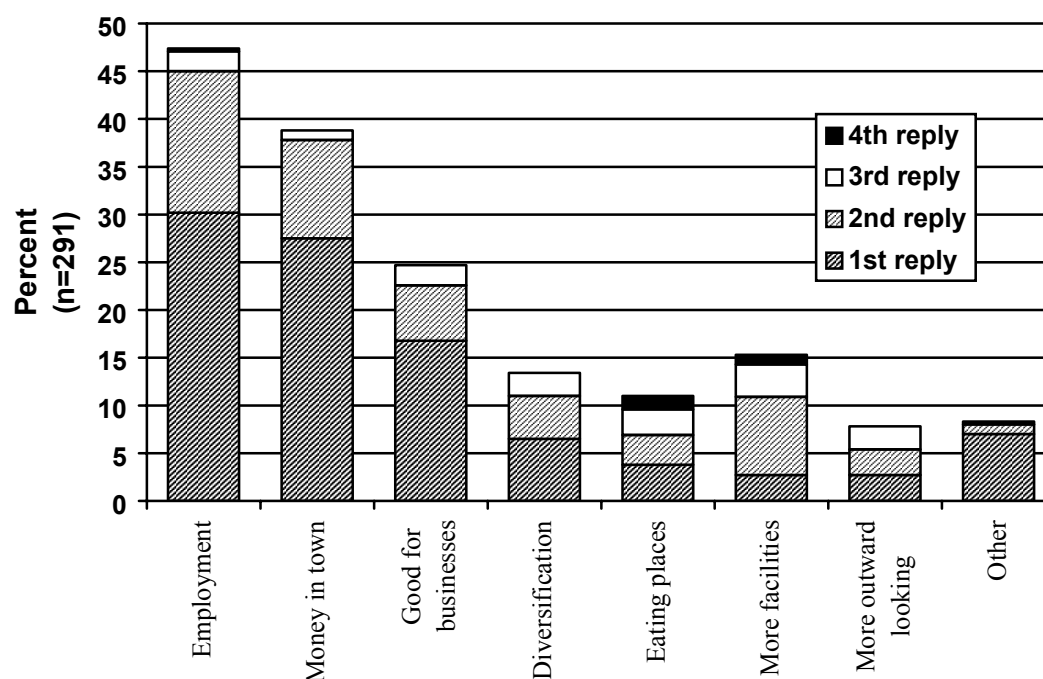


Figure 8
Community Benefits of Tourism to Kaikoura Residents

Some sectors of the community wonder about the level of community benefit and some respondents felt that only some of the community had really benefited from tourism and they were mainly the tourism businesses. Table 5 shows that individuals who felt that they benefited personally from tourism were likely to say that the community also benefited from it ($X^2=17.745$, $df=3$, $p=0.00050$).

Table 5
People’s Assessment of Personal Costs and Benefits Against Community Benefits
($X^2=17.745$, $df=3$, $p=0.00050$)

Perception of Personal Costs and Benefits	Have There Been Benefits for the Community as a Whole?	
	Yes	No
Benefits and Costs	55 (90.2%)	6 (9.8%)
Costs Only	51 (72.9%)	19 (27.1%)
Neither	40 (85.1%)	7 (14.9%)
Benefits Only	83 (95.4%)	4 (4.6%)

6.2.1 Employment and Work

Tourism has clearly created employment in the town - both directly and indirectly- and many residents experience these benefits through their own employment or through that of other family members. Employment and work were the most frequently mentioned personal benefits of tourism to individuals within the community. Seventy people, or 24.5 per cent of survey respondents, said that they had worked in tourism either full-time or part-time in the last year. Table 6 shows that Maori respondents were more likely than Pakeha respondents to say that they had worked in tourism in the last year. This difference is significant ($X^2=6.33126$, $df=1$, $p=0.01186$). The difference can be attributed to the central role that Takahanga Marae have taken in the development of tourism in Kaikoura. To add to this, 15 per cent of respondents reported that other people in their household had worked in tourism in the last year.

Table 6
Ethnicity by Employment in Tourism During the Last Year

Ethnicity	Are You Employed in Tourism?	
	Yes	No
European/Pakeha (n=243)	51(21%)	192 (71%)
Maori (n=41)	16 (39%)	25 (61%)

Another group of respondents mentioned that tourism has created more work for them, even though they did not work directly in tourism. Individuals in trade occupations, for example, mentioned that tourism had created more need for their services.

Table 7
Age Groups by Employment in Tourism During the Last Year
 $(X^2 = 21.28799, df=2, p= 0.00002)$

Age Group	Are You Employed in Tourism?	
	Yes	No
15-39	23 (25.0%)	69 (75.0%)
40-59	39 (37.0%)	67 (63.0%)
>60	8 (8.7%)	84 (92.3%)

The age group with the greatest percentage of individuals working in tourism was the 40-59 year olds. Table 7 shows that 37 per cent of this age group say that they have worked in tourism during the last year compared with only 25 per cent of individuals under 40 years of age. Surprisingly, the age group that has gained the most employment from tourism is slightly more negative in their assessment of costs and benefits than the younger age groups who appear to have benefited less (see

Figure 5). However, this could be because the 40-59 year olds are more aware of both the costs and the benefits of tourism. Clearly, looking at these results, the middle age groups are more likely to say that tourism has had some effect on them personally since they were the least likely to feel that there had been neither personal benefits nor costs for them.

Table 8
Sex by Employment in Tourism During the Last Year

Sex	Are You Employed in Tourism?	
	Yes	No
Male (n=121)	24 (19.8%)	97 (80.2%)
Female (n=169)	45 (26.6%)	124 (73.4%)

The service nature of tourism means that much of the work it provides is considered women's work and pays low wages. These two factors tend to mean that women are more often employed in tourism than men (Purcell, 1997). Table 8 shows that more females than males in our sample reported having worked in tourism during the last year, however, the difference is not significant ($X^2=1.79428, df=1, p=0.18041$). Part of the reason for this lack of significant difference may be that, if individuals want to stay in Kaikoura, they will be happy to do whatever work comes their way. Also, the marine nature of tourism in Kaikoura means that there are jobs available in what might be considered more traditionally male work - boat maintenance, boat skippering and guiding are all acceptable male-oriented jobs that are better paid than the cleaning and reception work that is more often undertaken by women. My observations around Kaikoura indicate that there is a predominance of men working as skippers, guides and maintenance staff and a predominance of women in cleaning and reception work. The existence of many small businesses means that there are also many more males involved in running their own businesses than would be the case if businesses were fewer and larger in nature.

The figures used to assess the employment patterns above depend on how respondents interpreted the phrase “working in tourism”. If anything, they underestimate employment in tourism, although they represent a good estimation of how much employment the community perceive as being there because of tourism. The figures are also not so very different from Butcher’s⁵ estimates of employment (approximately 30 per cent) when it is considered that his estimates include all proportions of full-time equivalent jobs that have any contact with tourists in them. Individuals working in a supermarket, for example, are unlikely to regard themselves as working in tourism, however, part of their time would have been included in Butcher’s estimates.

In interviews, while respondents mentioned that there are more jobs because of tourism, many also expressed some concern about the lack of a career structure in the tourism industry, and the fact that tourism provides a lot of casual or part-time work with little or no job security. The seasonality of tourism means that there are few full-time, full-year-round jobs available. In addition, the service nature of the jobs means that there is greater potential for the employment of women in rural areas, where once most of the jobs were more oriented towards males.

A few interview respondents hoped that further tourism development in Kaikoura would create a greater range of jobs for their children, so that they will not have to leave town. Only a few individuals in either the interview or survey sample questioned whether tourism development would, in fact, deliver high quality employment opportunities to the community. Seasonality was mentioned by individuals during interviews and occasionally during the telephone survey. Seasonality was cited as a problem for two people who had found that they could not get a mortgage because their job was not secure enough. These assertions are backed up to some extent by the figures from the residents survey. Of the 70 people (24.5 per cent) who said that they worked in tourism in the year before the survey, 19 had no work during the winter (generally from Easter through to the beginning of November), and only 18 (6.2 per cent of the entire sample) said that they had at least 30 hours work right through the year. During the summer months, nine respondents worked an average of ten or fewer hours per week, and another 17 worked between ten and 29 hours per week. Thus, at a community level, tourism has generated employment, however, the nature of that employment and the distribution of tourist numbers throughout the year affect the degree to which individuals can benefit from tourism. To be able to support a family, an individual generally has to make very big earnings during the summer,

Shaw and Williams (1994), in their discussion of employment in tourism and leisure, note that the temporal fluctuation in demand for labour is greater than anything experienced in manufacturing. Variations in demand occurring across the day, between weekdays and weekends, and between seasons result in a range of strategies used by employers. This may include the use of part-time contracts where individuals may only work at weekends or for a few hours of each day, the use of split shifts where individuals may work morning and evening but not during the daytime hours, and the use of seasonal labour. The difficulty with

⁵ See The Economic Impact of Tourism on Kaikoura (Report No. 8).

the clustering of demand for labour is that, while the demand may be high at particular times, individuals simply may not be able to find work except during those limited clusters of time in which demand occurs. This means that although the community are in need of employment, they still may not be able to fill the requirements of the peak periods of demand, and they will not be able to find work during the low season.

In tourist areas, this problem may be solved by the use of a migrant labour force of (usually young) people who come into an area to work for a season, then leave again at the end of that season. Thus any unemployment problems are effectively exported (Shaw and Williams, 1994). A small amount of this type of labour is used in Kaikoura at the current time. The in-migration - out-migration patterns are accentuated in Kaikoura because of a Remote Area Policy operated by the Department of Social Welfare. Individuals without either property or family in Kaikoura, who may have a small amount of work in the town during the summer are prevented from receiving any unemployment benefit if they stay in the area over the winter months when there is no work available.

A further problem mentioned by some operators in Kaikoura is finding people who can do the work. This apparent lack of appropriate employees is an indication that, although much of the work is in fact considered low skilled, much of it actually requires good interpersonal and organisational skills - skills that not everyone has.

It hasn't had a major impact on employment opportunities because the sad thing is that it is seasonal and it's part-time. X who works for us is a good example - we've been able to carry her through ... but the majority of people lose their jobs in the winter. In actual fact, it's going to be a problem in the summer ... they all need cleaners, and a good reliable cleaner [is hard to find] ... I'll do anything to keep X.

So the people you need to work in tourism are not necessarily the same people that live here all the time?

No, but for us we need someone who is honest, reliable and who enjoys being with people.

It is difficult to get staff with the skills to serve behind the counter- we advertise in the newspaper and all the unemployed who apply because they have to but they are not really able to do the job adequately because you need personality skills and most of the people here who are unemployed have very low self esteem and that does not allow them to do a good job of dealing with people.

One person specifically mentioned the fact that there is no career structure in the tourism industry.

I suggested to the owners of the cafes and restaurants that during the off-season, it would be a good time for some of their staff to do training in food handling and presentation ... and they said that 'we only pick people that we are satisfied with anyway'. So then I went to the staff and they said 'yes we'd like to do that but will we get paid any more at the end of it?'. I went back to the employers and they said 'no no

we can get other people - varsity students and the like' ... so there's no real incentive for workers to up-skill themselves or to aim for excellence and that reflects the whole of the New Zealand tourism industry.

The issues outlined above have been noted in other parts of the world (Purcell 1996, Shaw and Williams 1994). The tourism industry, because of the many jobs that need to be done by most tourism businesses, requires adaptable staff, with a wide variety of skills who will work for relatively low wages. In some parts of the world, this labour may be taken up by immigrants from less well off areas who come looking to make money to send home. In New Zealand, however, seasonal work appears to be mostly undertaken by young, mobile people with no family responsibilities, so they can easily manage flexibility in work hours, and who can use the off-season for leisure or study or even another seasonal job. For many of these people, the rewards in the lifestyle are more than simply economic. They enjoy the company of other, similar individuals, and they make use of the recreation opportunities afforded by the place in which they work. Some of the seasonal staff in Kaikoura, for example, are surfers who consider working in Kaikoura as an opportunity to live near some good surfing beaches. These characteristics are already visible amongst seasonal workers in Kaikoura, and from personal experience, these are the same kinds of people who provide much of the seasonal labour in places like Queenstown and Wanaka.

The other group to provide seasonal labour are people who do not have responsibility for providing the main family income - very often housewives. This group are useful in tourism as they can provide a large casual pool of labour. In Kaikoura, there are two other groups which are also used as a casual pool of labour who can be called upon when needed. These are high school children (who can be paid very low wages on account of their youth status) and some students at the Kaikoura Centre for Continuing Education who may be employed by Whale Watch on a casual basis once they have completed their course in marine tourism.

In summary then, the community has a range of different views on how much tourism has helped unemployment in the area. While some say that it has really helped unemployment in the town, others say it has not changed a great deal. Tourism in Kaikoura does directly provide employment hours (as one interviewee put it). However, the temporal clustering of those hours means that many of the tourism jobs in Kaikoura (as outlined above) are part-time and seasonal in nature and many of them are casual, so only a small number of individuals within the community have access to full-time employment through tourism. In addition, the need for employees to have good interpersonal skills in the tourism business means that not everyone is automatically able to do a job well. For employers, seasonality can also be a difficulty, because it is hard to keep good employees from season to season.

6.2.2 Seasonality

A range of problems come from seasonality. First, the length of the off-season means that businesses find it difficult to manage financially over that time. Second, for those staff who get laid off at the end of the summer, there is a long winter period with the prospect of little or no work. For business owners, the winter can be a very lean and stressful time. Third, because of seasonality, people tend to work long hours during the summer, which contributes to the negative impacts experienced during the summer through high contact hours. By the end of the busy season, individuals who work with tourists are clearly looking forward to having some time off. More disparaging remarks are made about the antics of various tourists

and people generally are beginning to look tired. When the season ends, many people who worked in the tourist industry leave town to travel or find work in other areas for the winter months, and this can negatively affect residents who are left behind. Many comment that some off season is good but that the off season that Kaikoura has at present is too long.

Some individuals in the community seem to think that the way around the seasonality problem is to develop more tourist facilities. However, further development so that greater numbers can be accommodated during the summer will only accentuate the fluctuation in employment and unemployment. Logic seems to imply that working to attract more tourists during the winter months would actually be more productive.

6.2.3 Work Hours and Their Effect on Family and Community Life

Interviewees and questionnaire respondents mentioned that it could be difficult to manage childcare because it was not always available at the hours that parents had to work. One businessman felt that trying to establish his new business without his extended family around him to help with childcare would have been nearly impossible. Other business people mentioned that setting up their tourist business demanded them to be on call nearly 24 hours per day which was not particularly good for family relationships. People who work in tourism mentioned that working during the evening impacted negatively on their family life, because they were at work when the rest of the family were at home. Moteliers were, perhaps, the group who most consistently mentioned the difficulty of managing their hours, but people setting up other new businesses mentioned similar things.

Moteliers who do not employ extra staff have to be on site all day to take bookings, meet customers, handle their enquiries and to check them out. Having to have someone on site all day limits family activities. Partners also have to negotiate time away from home and to make sure that there will be someone available to do the necessary front line work.

Tourism is most stressful for people who work and live on site because they are unable to get away from the business unless they go away, which relies on having a trusted person to run the business adequately. Reliable substitute staff can be difficult to find.

A few interview respondents talked about the way that the hours that they had to work affected their participation in leisure activities and in community activities. A few interviewees mentioned that working weekends prevented them from engaging in activities with other people so they found themselves doing more individually-oriented activities. Another member of the community mentioned that she found it difficult to meet people because, although she did not work in tourism, she was a newcomer and many of the people who she was interested in meeting had to work during her time off. She felt that other longer term members of the community were less receptive to befriending new community members, because they already have their networks. Because tourism has not been in Kaikoura for very long, people who work in tourism are likely to be more receptive to making new friends, because their local networks tend to be less developed.

6.2.4 Parking, Traffic and Bad Drivers

The personal cost that people mentioned most frequently was parking in town, although, having said that, some individuals did not feel that it was a big problem. Parking is an issue that comes up regularly in discussion in Kaikoura for two reasons. First, most locals like to be able to get a park outside the shop that they want to visit, and during the summer months, the increased traffic in town makes this less easy to achieve. Second, the Council has recently spent money developing a (previously informal) carparking area and putting in metered parking at the suggestion of an outside consultant. In doing so, locals say, they decreased the number of parks available overall. The theory was that fewer parks were needed if some were metered, since that would keep the parks turning over. This has not met with approval by the locals who dislike paying to park locally. However, observations indicate that, at present, local people seldom have to pay to park. There are usually free parks available during the summer and for a large part of the year the metered parking is not wardened, so it is also free during that time. What tends to happen is that the free carpark area fills while the metered parking area is not used, and this is, perhaps, a result of there having been enough parking at most times for those prepared to walk from the carpark to the shops. It is possible that in the future the carpark design will prove useful, but in the meantime it irritates many locals who feel that it has been a waste of money. The carpark has also added to the local feeling that outside consultants should be used less.

A few people said that the increased traffic in the town was a problem. Some older residents have little experience of high traffic levels in their town, so that having to cope with congestion in town can be difficult. Most visitors do not know the layout of the town which means that they are finding their way and are prone to drive cautiously and make mistakes. This can be frustrating for locals who know the area well. For younger drivers, the complaints are more about campervans and bad driving on the roads around the area. Campervans are slow and cumbersome vehicles which tend to travel slowly and in the middle of the road slowing traffic down, and unfortunately, some drivers are not good at pulling over to let faster traffic pass. This can annoy local drivers who tend to be travelling faster simply because they are familiar with local roads and are not sight-seeing as they go.

Extra traffic can also be a problem for people who live on gravel roads. Rural residents report problems such as the dust created by extra traffic and the faster deterioration of local roads. Added to this is that the extra traffic can make driving along the roads more hazardous than it has been in the past, where drivers on an unfamiliar road surface are not in good control of their car. An example of this is the small but significant number of motor accidents that occur on the Inland Road between Kaikoura and Culverden which has a stretch of gravel. Farmers in the area all seem to have stories of tourists driving through their fences.

Another group of people felt that the extra traffic around Kaikoura was making it less safe for children. This was particularly so in South Bay, which was once a quiet area with a small amount of local traffic. Now tourist operators use the slipway and wharf area, so that there is more tourist traffic including many buses travelling up and down a very narrow road which has no formed footpaths.

6.2.5 Safety

Some older people also say that they feel less safe in Kaikoura with more tourists in the area. This is partly because there are more visitors around town, but it is also because there are new groups of residents. One of the impacts of tourism for some parts of the community has been caused by the development of the Kaikoura Centre for Continuing Education (KCCE). This is a Marae initiative set up to give local youths access to further educational opportunities. In order to make the provision of these opportunities viable, KCCE take students from outside the area as part of education for employment schemes sponsored by government agencies involved in employment in New Zealand. A few of the students that are taken into the Marine Tourism course or into the Conservation Corps are “at risk” youths from the bigger centres. Because they move around the town in large visible groups, they are often blamed for petty crimes that occur around the town. KCCE staff feel that these students benefit from living in a small community, because it is more difficult for them to infringe without being seen. However, their visibility can be threatening to older residents, particularly those living alone in the town.

6.2.6 People in Town

Clearly, both the issues of parking and crowding are related to having more people in town. A few respondents mentioned that some groups of people in town are ignored in the rush to cater for tourists. This is reflected in the assertions that a few people made that they are now seen as second best to the tourists. Some felt that the shops now cater better for tourists than for locals and stock their shelves more with tourists in mind than with locals in mind. These comments are supported by the survey results which show that 45 people (15.5 per cent) disliked having too many strangers around the town. For some locals, this translates into having to wait in queues, which is something that seldom happens during the winter months. Another associated negative impact of tourism is that it is more difficult for shops to predict demand when there are tourists around so that they may run out of desired items. However, in the six months that I lived in Kaikoura, I saw no evidence of locals being ignored (quite the reverse in fact!), or of the shops running out of commodities. However, it is also my impression that people in the retired age groups tend to be ignored if they do pass a criticism of tourism development, so the feelings of being ignored may be real, but misplaced.

In direct contrast, another group of locals like having people around because they say it makes the town ‘feel alive’. Quite a number of locals mentioned that they like to see people wandering around the shops and sitting in cafes and in many cases they enjoy talking to the visitors and finding out about where they come from.

6.2.7 Meeting New People

In Kaikoura, people who do not work with tourists tend to have little contact with them. For most people, their experience of tourists tends to be in a “side-by-side” situation for example, where locals find themselves alongside tourists in restaurants or shops or at some event. In these situations, there is usually little opportunity for exchange of information. By far the most local-tourist interaction goes on in businesses that cater for tourists - they meet tourists when the guest is purchasing goods and services from them - thus most encounters have a clear economic basis. However, many people who work with tourists enjoyed meeting and talking with visitors. Many of them had kept in contact with people who had visited the area as tourists and a few had even visited their customers when they travelled overseas.

themselves. Similarly, some Kaikoura residents felt that running a farmstay or homestay gave them more social life than would otherwise be possible in Kaikoura. Therefore, for many tourists operators in Kaikoura, a benefit of tourism was in the opportunity to meet a variety of people with whom they might become friends and eventually who might reciprocate the hospitality that they received here in New Zealand.

The non-economic rewards are likely to stay important when hosting is not necessarily a good way to make money. For example, a farming family who ran a farmstay business felt that two to three groups of people per month was enough for them to manage around other aspects of family life, and for them, their priority was always the family. For these people farmstay was a supplement to the farm income but was definitely not a feasible stand alone business. These people were quick to talk about how much they enjoyed talking with their guests. It appears that hosting is most sustainable for individuals when guest numbers are low and hosts have time to themselves between groups. This would imply that it is difficult for many people to consistently develop meaningful (more than economically driven) relationships with their guests when they have a large number of them.

In this light, it is perhaps significant that while many people are able to run a small bed and breakfast without having areas in the house locked off from the guests, larger accommodation businesses always have private areas which give hosts an ability to withdraw back into their own family lives. In a sense then, it appears that in small and new homestay or farmstay businesses, the separation of front stage and back stage (see MacCannell, 1976) has not been done physically and instead is maintained temporally by having nights without guests. It is interesting to speculate whether there is a level of guest nights and numbers of guests (that is, a carrying capacity) over which the separation of front stage and back stage must become spatial if the business is to continue. This will differ between individuals and with the stage of the family life cycle of hosts.

Kariel (1993: 453) alludes to the need for some separation of business and family in his study of Austrian communities. He found that over time, hosts 'established a degree of distance from guests' and gave higher priority to family life than they had earlier. One might speculate that without the physical separation of the family from the guests, having children at home may mean that the carrying capacity is lower, but it may also make couples more likely to prioritise family time without guests around. It became obvious in Kaikoura that during the summer months, some older couples running bed and breakfast accommodation were getting worn down by continual hosting of strangers in their home. For one couple, before the summer season began, their focus had been on getting customers (because they had a relatively new business) and they had no agreed strategy for having time off together during the summer, or even for maintaining some private living space. By the end of the summer this couple were very keen to spend some time without guests in their house.

Tourism has also brought new people into the area to set up businesses. While some locals feel 'colonised' by the newcomers as outlined above, a few locals mentioned the arrival of these people as a benefit for two quite different reasons. First, a few locals felt that the people coming in to set up tourist businesses were 'better quality people' than the people who

had moved into Kaikoura during the eighties to take advantage of the cheap housing in the area. Second, a bigger group mentioned that the newcomers brought into the area through tourism were a new and interesting group of people who had enriched the community by their presence. For many, the newcomers meant that they had a wider circle of friends and a better network of contacts throughout New Zealand.

6.2.8 Cafes

Connected to meeting people is having more restaurants and cafes in the town. For 22 people (7.6 per cent of the survey sample), access to good cafes and restaurants was one of the major benefits of tourism. Cafes appear to be competing with the local pubs as popular meeting places especially during the day, but also at night. A few people mentioned that one of the impacts of a high seasonality in tourist numbers is that they cannot always go the restaurant of their choice during the tourist season because they are full. In comparison, it is easy to get into the restaurants during the quieter months. In a sense then, some impacts are problems that would not have existed if tourism had not provided new opportunities in the first place.

6.2.9 The Most Disliked Tourists

Most questionnaire respondents did not respond to this question. In particular, people who were not in frequent contact with tourists were inclined to say that they liked all tourists equally. Respondents occasionally conveyed a dislike of backpackers who are seen to be “cheap” tourists who do not spend much money. In comparison, people who worked with tourists were easily able to pinpoint the tourists that they most disliked and these tourists were referred to as ‘arrogant’ and as one respondent put it ‘want subservience, not just service’. Americans, Israelis and, occasionally, Germans were the nationalities that most commonly came in for criticism on this basis. Very few high paying tourists stay in the town and so very few people actually get to meet them. However, one operator who had met some, said that rich Japanese tourists were his most disliked group, largely because they regard many people in service industries as very low status and as such they treat them badly.

6.2.10 Higher Rates

Twenty six people (8.9 per cent) in the telephone survey considered that tourism has caused rates to go up. Rates are a big issue in Kaikoura because in 1996, rates were increased at the same time as the rating system was changed. This was particularly hard on businesses which attracted the greatest increases. Rates are high in Kaikoura when compared with places like Christchurch. This is largely because Kaikoura has the smallest rating base of any council in New Zealand, except for the Chatham Islands, and yet the Council still has to perform all of the same functions that are performed by councils with many times more ratepayers.

While the rates increase has been blamed on tourism, at least some of the rates increase would have happened anyway for reasons outlined earlier in this paper. Developments in Kaikoura such as the carpark area and South Bay Marina (where tourist operators launch their boats) are all added costs that the Council would not have had without tourism. However, the tourist operators themselves have paid for most of the South Bay project. A further discussion of the effect of tourism on infrastructure is included in the following section on infrastructure.

People in the older age groups complain about rates more frequently than the younger ones. This is largely because rate increases are very threatening for many retirees. Most retirees have a fixed income, so increasing costs such as rates can affect on that income. In addition, for many retirees there is uncertainty about what expenses lie ahead and how long their savings have to last. For these people too, inflation has a significant effect on the relative amount of money that they have in the bank, because their incomes in the past were relatively low compared to what is the case now. For older residents then, this is another impact that they feel more than younger residents because of their financial status.

6.2.11 Infrastructure

Linked to the problems with rates are the increasing pressures on infrastructure. As with many other places in New Zealand at the current time, water supplies, and sewerage treatment are in need of major work in the near future. A few locals argue that this is not necessarily to do with tourism, but more to do with the fact that past Councils have chosen to defer maintenance and upgrading of these systems in order to keep rates down. They are also systems which are not plainly visible to most people, because they tend to be built out of public view.

Many people say that tourism means that they have to put up with problems such as water shortages in the summer which is something that Riddoch (1996) mentions as a problem for Kaikoura, as do Field et al. (1996). However, other locals disagree, saying that the water problems have been around for a long time. Interviewees in their 30s recall water restrictions during the summer months in Kaikoura when they were children, and according to the Council, water usage per capita is very high in Kaikoura and has been since before tourism. They put this down to the porous soils in the area which affects how much gardens need watering. This would imply that tourism has little to do with the summer water shortages in the area, and that the growing use of water by the residents themselves is a large part of the problem. However, without tourism, Kaikoura would currently have fewer residents, so the problems may not exist to the same extent. Recent work has improved the water supply considerably compared with what it was in previous years when water would be cut off without warning during the day. However, it is still necessary for the Council to enforce garden watering restrictions during the hottest months.

There is a similar debate about the sewerage system in Kaikoura. The current sewerage scheme was a good scheme when it was put in but it now requires upgrading because it is getting overloaded. It appears at the current time that the sewerage system is more often overloaded during the winter months or after a heavy fall of rain because there is not a good stormwater system in Kaikoura and the run off from rain in the area goes into the sewer. Even so, the current system is running close to capacity and will need upgrading and updating soon.

The local dump and collection of rubbish concerns locals in a range of ways. The current dump has never been well sealed and residents say that leachate from the dump runs down into South Bay. Because of the new standards and the requirements of the Resource Management Act, the cost of setting up a new dump is likely to be very high. The development of tourism is increasing the quantity of rubbish created in the town and tourists operators are aware that Kaikoura must be seen to be environmentally friendly given the nature of its tourist attractions. A kerbside recycling scheme is being put into place largely as

a result of social workers at *Te Whare Putea*. The difficulty is that after years of dumping rubbish for free, some locals are proving slow to adapt to these new conditions, and are upset about having to pay to put out unsorted rubbish. For some this is because they feel that if people have to pay to dump rubbish in the dump, then they will just dump their rubbish along the roadsides. Already South Bay residents say that bachowners who come up for the weekend do not put the stickers on their unsorted rubbish, which is then not picked up by the Council, but then the rubbish just stays out on the street indefinitely. In addition, there are residents who criticise the Council for spending money on a recycling scheme, perhaps because they do not realise the costs involved with not recycling. Thus, it appears that there is some way to go yet before Kaikoura solves its waste management problems.

While these infrastructural problems cannot therefore be laid entirely at the doorstep of tourism, tourism will be contributing to the loading being put on them, and certainly if tourism keeps growing, infrastructure is only likely to become more of a problem. This is supported by the fact that two of New Zealand's major tourist destinations - Queenstown and Rotorua - are known to be high spenders on infrastructure and beautification (Hunt, 1997).

6.2.12 Facilities and Improved Lifestyle

Most tourist operators maintain that all Kaikoura people benefit from tourism through facilities such as better bus services, the continued existence of the local hospital, and a good range of cafes and shops. People argue about this because no one can be sure what Kaikoura would be like if there were less tourism. Many of the shuttles, for example, would still run because there would still be people wanting to travel between Picton and Christchurch. Possibly the same arguments might apply to the continued existence of the hospital, although that seems less likely. However, having people stopping in the town will increase the numbers using medical services there. Having people passing through would have less effect on these services, however, than having them staying in town. The existence of the hospital in Kaikoura is perhaps also an accident of history because, for example, Te Anau is a town of similar size to Kaikoura with a large amount of tourist traffic in the summer and it has no hospital.

6.2.13 Living Expenses Higher

Twelve people in the residents' survey said that their greatest concern about tourism in Kaikoura was a higher cost of living while another 18 people said that higher prices were one of the negative aspects of tourism. Many interviewees mentioned that prices in the local grocery stores are very high compared with what they pay if they go to Christchurch, and to save money, most people who live in Kaikoura will shop in the larger centres if they are going there. A few individuals said that they go to Christchurch regularly specifically to shop and some of them, particularly rural people, even say that doing their shopping in Christchurch was a good way to avoid the tourists in Kaikoura. This comment seems surprising to the author who always found it less crowded shopping in Kaikoura than in Christchurch. Higher prices in the shops probably have little to do with tourism. It is most likely that the rise of supermarkets or large chains of stores such as "The Warehouse" in the bigger centres has been the biggest factor in a widening gap between Kaikoura prices and Christchurch prices. If anything, one would have to expect that the price gap would be larger without tourism, since the quantity of goods coming into the area would be smaller and hence more expensive. The difficulty is that prior to tourism, the shopping in Kaikoura may have been better than it is now, perhaps because travel to other centres was more difficult so that locals did the bulk of their shopping locally. The changes in transportation and mobility of

residents have therefore also contributed to the changes that have occurred in Kaikoura during the last 10-15 years. Because there have been so many changes in recent years, it is impossible to lay the blame on tourism alone, when, in fact, these problems may have arisen anyway, with or without the development of tourism in the area.

One aspect of living expenses that is probably influenced by tourism is rents and housing. Because tourism is making Kaikoura a more popular place in which to live, particularly in the summer months, rental accommodation is scarce and expensive. According to local real estate agents, house prices have increased in the area over the last few years. However, they also feel that vendors' expectations are too high at the present time and come from the fact that a small number of buyers have paid high prices for their houses. At this point, the market is "flat" (which is similar to most other places in New Zealand), however, people with real estate to sell that I spoke to were prepared to wait to get a good price, and they were sure that it would. For residents who own houses in Kaikoura, the increasing value of real estate is regarded as a positive benefit of tourism. In Kaikoura, the price of real estate is not high compared with real estate around New Zealand, however, high house prices and high rents are likely to have a big effect on the town in future if local community members are not able to stay in the area. High seasonality and high rents will mean a high turnover of tourism workers who leave the area during the winter months to decrease their living costs. Because most of the jobs in tourism are low paying and because many of the jobs are seasonal and/or casual, it seems unlikely that people who work in tourism would be likely to be able to afford to buy houses in the area if prices are high. Thus, increased real estate prices are likely to have quite an effect on the community in the long term.

6.2.14 Unacknowledged Community Benefits

There appear to be benefits from tourism which are seldom recognised by the community. These benefits come in the form of donations and sponsorship that businesses put into the community. These are things that nobody mentioned as community benefits in response to the residents' survey, and very few people talked about these things during interviews. Whale Watch often gives work experience to students from both the high school and the Kaikoura Centre for Continuing Education. In addition, they also donate money to local schools to help students in need. Both Whale Watch and Dolphin Encounter - the two biggest tourism companies - make significant contributions to a range of community projects and so the benefits of tourism are further spread throughout the community.

6.3 Individuals' Greatest Concerns About Tourism in Kaikoura

Table 9 shows the concerns that Kaikoura residents expressed in answer to the above question. The biggest group (59 or 20.3 per cent) of residents said they had no concerns when asked what was their greatest concern about tourism in Kaikoura. Fifty respondents (17.4 per cent) said either that they did not want Kaikoura to be like Queenstown, or that they did not want Kaikoura to be spoilt by over-commercialisation. That people did not want Kaikoura to be like Queenstown was something that more respondents mentioned when they were

asked how much they would like tourism to develop in the town. Some of the answers that people gave to this question were similar to the answers given when they talked about the negative impacts of tourism in Kaikoura, for example, infrastructure, rising cost of living, increasing rates etc.

Table 9
What is Your Greatest Concern About Tourism in Kaikoura?

Concern	Frequency	%
None	59	20.3
Don't want to be like Queenstown	45	15.5
Infrastructure	40	13.7
Lose attractions	31	10.6
Tourists might stop	19	6.5
Crowding	13	4.5
Expensive to live here	12	4.1
Locals ignored in favour of tourists	13	4.5
Tourists should respect the land and people here	10	3.4
Rates going up	7	2.4
Stay same	6	2.1
Kaikoura will be spoilt by overcommercialisation	5	1.7
Traffic and Parking	5	1.7
Loss of safety for kids and elderly	5	1.7
Not enough good facilities e.g. Hotels	4	1.4
Seasonality - reliability of work	4	1.4
Other	10	3.4

6.3.1 Queenstown

That people did not want to be like Queenstown is something that came up often in interviews as well as in the residents' survey. During interviews where respondents expressed a desire not to be like Queenstown, I was able to ask people exactly what they meant by "like Queenstown". Not everyone who said this disliked Queenstown. For some respondents, Queenstown is a great place to visit because there is much to do, many good cafes and the pace of the place is fast and exciting. However, these people often said that this was not the kind of place in which they would like to live.

The most common criticism of Queenstown was that people felt that it was too commercialised. By this, they meant people are no longer seen as people in Queenstown. Instead, they are seen only in terms of the dollars that they represent.

... there is a commercial mentality there which has overridden the personal.

What exactly do you mean by that?

Well, I think that [Queenstown] people think of people in terms of money rather than as people so they're actually earning units rather than human units and part of the reason why people come to Kaikoura is they can still have time to talk to people and local people will talk to them. And there is that relaxed atmosphere that we don't want to lose.

As mentioned earlier, many interviewees who worked with tourists felt that enjoying the presence of the tourists and being able to talk to and learn from them was an important part of their experience of working in the industry. Over-commercialisation was thus posited as the loss of the non-economic side of the tourist-host encounter. Connected to this was the comment that the focus on the dollar also makes it difficult to learn about activities that people can do for free in Queenstown. Instead, a big focus on high cost activities makes Queenstown a place that ordinary New Zealand families cannot really afford to visit.

I can't understand why it does so well because the place is shabby. It's very difficult to get around. It caters for the tourist ... and its so expensive.

People also said that Queenstown is no longer a unique New Zealand town. Instead it is built for overseas tourists with lots of money. This provision for overseas tourists means that Queenstown could be anywhere in the world. It has lost its New Zealand identity. One interview respondent said:

Now I would really hate to see Kaikoura become another Queenstown, or another Takaka for that matter. We have to remain a Kaikoura and have to identify exactly what it is that makes us unique. ... I get the feeling that if I went to a cafe in Queenstown in a mall that I could be in any city in any part of the world.

A few people mentioned that there appears to be little in the way of a local community in Queenstown.

I'd never live there because I can't run up mountains before breakfast! ... [Queenstown has] ... lost the feeling of the local community. It must have one but I suspect that it's really hard to get a handle on. B and C (Queenstown residents) have found it quite difficult to meet people ... it's that sort of lack of community I don't think I'd like. I love the shops and all those sorts of things but the cost - it's very expensive and the other thing that was really bizarre in Queenstown was that it was really difficult to buy a potato ... there's no supermarket or butcher's shop. You had to go to Cromwell ...

No-one mentioned problems associated with seasonal migration into and out of the area associated with the seasonality of employment, although in a small stable community such as Kaikoura, this could have quite major impacts. It seems, for example, that the migration that currently occurs acts to accentuate the split between people who work in tourism and the rest of the community. This split is only likely to increase in size as seasonality increases and that may also then begin to intensify the feeling that tourism is developing in the town more for the benefit of outsiders than for locals.

Only one or two people mentioned the outside ownership of Queenstown as a problem, although this is clearly linked to the perception that there is no local community and that Queenstown is no longer a typical New Zealand town. Clearly, these things are also linked to the things that residents like about living in Kaikoura. High quality encounters with tourists, the strength of the local community and the things that make Kaikoura uniquely what it is - a small fishing town with a high quality marine environment - are the things that people value and presumably, want to maintain as tourism develops in the area.

6.3.2 Sustainability

Sustainability was mentioned by 90 people (31 per cent) as being their greatest concern about tourism, although people talked about sustainability in different ways. The sustainability of tourism itself was mentioned by 59 people (20.3 per cent) who were most concerned about what would happen to Kaikoura if tourists stopped coming to the area. Another 10.7 per cent (31 people) said that their greatest concern was that Kaikoura might lose its uniqueness through losing either its character or the whales. Sustainability for these people is largely seen in physical and environmental terms. However, the ethnographic data indicate that people feel that the Department of Conservation is managing the environmental aspects of tourism, a perception that is probably accentuated by the very public discussions associated with Whale Watch and the issuing of further permits for boat based whalewatching. Certainly, the number of people who visit Kaikoura because of the whales, the dolphins and/or the seals (Simmons , 1998)⁶ would indicate that this resource must be looked after carefully if tourism is to continue in Kaikoura. The centrality of the resource to tourism in Kaikoura presumably also will influence locals concern with environmental sustainability.

6.3.3 Other Concerns

Two respondents in the residents' survey felt that the competition for customers and arguments over development were things that were dividing the community. One or two interviewees mentioned this too. Some of these divisions happen because of the need for vertical integration within the tourism industry. For example, a bus service may enter into a deal with an accommodation place where both sides agree to recommend the other at the expense of other operators. Although little of this appears to be happening at the moment, there are signs that it is beginning in Kaikoura. The difficulty with tourism is that operators also have to co-operate in order to market Kaikoura to visitors, so while competition may be healthy, it may also lead to rifts in the industry, where groups will not work together. Until recently, Kaikoura worked 'commission free', that is, local operators would book for each other without collecting commission, however, now a few operators are using commission to encourage others to book their activities. This creates some tension between operators which is intensified, because the local information centre has to rely heavily on receiving commissions for their work.

6

See Summertime Visitors to Kaikoura: Characteristics, Attractions and Activities (Report No. 3).

Another concern that a small number of interviewees had was that because Kaikoura Information and Tourism Incorporated (KITI) rely so heavily on commissions from the operators for whom they book, they are being forced into prioritising the dissemination of information about commercial activities at the expense of information about activities that are free. This does not actually appear to be happening to any great extent at this stage, however, it is an issue that is likely to get worse in the future. Added to this is that, because KITI are so dependent on commissions, there is tension when other individuals within the tourism community start booking on a commission basis in direct competition with KITI. This is particularly acute because of the small size of Kaikoura and the fact that the town finds it difficult to fund its information centre, which is a vital part of tourism in the area.

6.4 The Older Age Groups

Retirees are a significant part of the Kaikoura community and as a group, they are generally not strong supporters of tourism. In many ways, this lack of support is unsurprising from a group who have the most to lose and the least to gain from tourism. The benefits of tourism are less exciting and the costs are greater for this age group. For retirees, the main benefits from tourism are indirect, for example, better facilities and services. However, many of them would be just as happy to do without those facilities. Higher rates, as already outlined, can threaten their future well-being, especially when added to inflation, which effectively makes their savings look very small. A retiree mentioned to me that she and her husband now pay more in rates than they ever paid per year when they had a high mortgage. Furthermore, many retirees come to the area for recreation opportunities that are affected by tourism. Whereas the younger age groups may see tourism as a way to achieve desired recreation opportunities and a pleasant, small town lifestyle, retirees are more likely to experience tourism as a threat to the quality of their chosen lifestyle.

In addition, an impression that I had over the time that I spent in Kaikoura is that the complaints of people in the older age groups are generally considered unimportant. This is perhaps true of other places in New Zealand, and is of concern for four reasons. First, the breadth of knowledge is greater in the retired community than in the younger community simply because some retirees have worked in fields that simply do not exist in Kaikoura. Second, that those in power appear not to listen to this group and to discount their worries as unimportant only marginalises them further and makes them even less receptive to tourism. Third, the people in the older age groups are in the position in which many younger people will be in a few years time. The way that they experience tourism may well end up to be the way that future retirees experience it, and it may make it less attractive for these age groups to remain in the area. Fourth, listening to the complaints that the older age groups have may actually allow the community as a whole to manage the negative impacts of tourism development much better. This is not to say that retirees are the only group that are right in their assessment of tourism impacts but that are the group that are currently most sensitive to its problems and as a group they still have a tremendous lot in common with their younger counterparts. It may be easier to attend to problems when they are relatively small, rather than waiting till the problems are big and everyone is feeling them.

In many respects then, the attitudes and opinions of the older age groups are an indicator that could allow better management of tourism in Kaikoura, but they are currently being ignored to the detriment of the community as a whole. For example, the threat that increasing costs and rates represent to this group are only likely to increase in the future as government provision for the elderly gets less and less reliable. In addition, mobility concerns are something that mainly affect the older age groups, so that although parking may seem a small issue for younger residents, for older residents with less mobility, this can be quite a problem. Field et al. (1996) also mention these as tourism impacts that affect the elderly in Kaikoura.

Chapter 7

Adapting to the Demands of Tourism

7.1 Introduction

This section looks at the way that local residents have adapted to the demands of tourism development in Kaikoura. At this point in time, it appears that the greatest adaptations have been made by those working in a business that caters for tourists. However, a few other members of the community also have made adaptations to the demands that tourism puts on them. The section is thus divided into two major parts whereby an analysis of the adaptations of people working in tourism are followed by a similar analysis of the adaptations of the general community.

7.2 Business

Seasonal fluctuations in tourism can affect businesses in very different ways. Not surprisingly, businesses vary in their approach to managing these seasonal fluctuations. Some of the bigger, seasonal businesses reduce staffing levels to a minimum during the winter, which allows other staff to get away for an extended break. Alternatively, a few businesses close down for the winter months. In this way, winter costs are minimised and individuals running the businesses come back refreshed and ready for another summer season. Smaller businesses may not want, or may not be able to afford, to shut down over winter. For them, winter can be more difficult because their winter income does not allow them to hire staff, so that they may end up having to work very long hours just to keep their businesses going. A few business managers report that it is difficult to find staff to oversee the business while they go off on holiday. This means that people can be working long hours and, although they are not busy, the fact that they have to be at work means that they have problems managing family life and social relationships. Here are some notes taken from an interview with a small business owner in mid-September:

He unenthusiastically says that he likes what he is doing, but would like to have more spare time for his own interests and family. If they had a steadier flow of tourists, then they could afford to employ staff more and could employ good people all year round and, if they could do that, then they could take a step back from the business and have more of an overview role.

The question of relief can be quite a problem across the community because of the predominance of small, owner-operated, family businesses in Kaikoura, and the need to be open seven days a week even during the quiet months. Motels and small backpackers can be stressful places to work in because of the relatively small size of the business and the need to

be on duty for seven days of the week at all hours. Connected with the demands of business and work hours is the difficulty of managing family life around the hours and stresses of tourist business. For some operators, extended family is an important support, particularly in managing childcare, when both partners are required by the needs of the business:

... [As a family] we can't all go out either, unless we pay somebody to come and look after the motels ... it's a tie, yeh quite a tie but that's the business so ... so we manage work around it really ... we get out individually but not together. [If we want to go out together] we have to plan it. Every three months we're supposed to go away for a long weekend with or without the kids. We try to get away on 14 days of the year with the family.

So you effectively have to mark time out?

Yes you do. We didn't the first year - things just kept coming up so now if something comes up when we are supposed to be away, well, tough.

Perhaps because of these problems, it is unusual for people to stay running motels for more than three to five years.

7.2.1 Managing Frequent, Routine, Face-to-Face Contact

Two moteliers mentioned to me that they have a range of strategies to manage contact with tourists. One couple reported pausing beside the door into the office, consciously taking a deep breath and placing a smile on their face as a way of moving out of family space (the living room) and into workspace (the office). Some people mentioned that they have a set of questions which they ask everyone who comes into the office as a way of being friendly without having to put too much effort into the interaction.

One hostel owner lives in Christchurch, coming up to Kaikoura during the week to do maintenance work on the hostel while hiring staff to do most of the reception and day to day running of the place. In addition, this operator minimises the demands on staff by minimising the services that he offers to guests. There are no shop facilities on site. They do not even sell phone cards, because that increases the demands on staff. Similarly, by keeping the hostel completely separate from his family (who live in Christchurch), he also minimises stress on both his family and himself, thus making his business more personally sustainable.

Another individual who worked in a tourist business said that she occasionally found it stressful meeting her customers when she was out on the town after work. This is something that is more likely to happen in Kaikoura than in many other tourists areas because of its small size. This individual said that she did not generally mind meeting people and if she really wanted to avoid them then it was easiest to stay home. One other individual felt more strongly saying that she never went out because she spent all day working with people and really did not feel like socialising during her time off. It may be significant that the latter respondent was spoken to towards the end of the summer season and thus, was likely to be feeling the pressure, whereas the former was contacted during the winter months, and was likely to be looking forward to being busier at the time of interview.

These stories support the idea that a large amount of face-to-face contact is not always easy and sustainable. Therefore, to stay in business in the long term, individuals must find ways to minimise or at least confine the amount of face-to-face work that they do with tourists. The type of tourist will also have an impact on the amount of contact that individuals can sustain, however, high volume alone appears to be a major factor in producing a need for individuals to adapt to tourism.

7.2.2 Holidays

While the moteliers above talked about going away for a long weekend every three months, another set of moteliers say that they work solidly over the summer and then take off for a good break during the winter months. It seems that some people in Kaikoura work solidly over the summer and do not take a holiday during the warm weather. Of this group, some travel overseas during the winter to find warm weather and sunshine. Thus, because of the kind of work and social patterns that it creates, tourism may actually increase the number of New Zealanders who go overseas for their holidays. Similarly, bringing tourists into an area like Kaikoura may, in itself, encourage locals to travel more with local observers, indicating that Kaikoura people are travelling much more now than they used to. This implies that, although tourism brings in export dollars, it may also increase the rate of leakage of those dollars from both the destination area and the country.

7.3 The General Community and Their Adaptations

The main coping strategies that Kaikoura residents exhibit revolve around managing the problems of parking and crowding in the town. Many interview respondents say that they avoid shopping when the town is busy by doing their shopping before 9.00 a.m. during the summer months. One shopkeeper commented that her usual steady stream of local customers tended to peter out during January when the town is busy. Some residents had strategies for managing parking. Other locals said that they used the carparks which are not obvious to the tourists and so are usually available. An older male respondent said that he parked his car at his son's place near the centre of town and walked in from there so that he did not have to worry about parking. For others in the town, carparking is hardly an issue, so much of the discussion about carparking is about how far people have to walk and how comfortable some residents are when there is a high volume of traffic in town. However, given current patterns of growth, it remains unclear how long such informal acceptance can be maintained.

Notwithstanding these adaptations, most people do not have any strategies for coping with tourists. According to Brown and Giles (1994), residents in Byron Bay in Australia felt more able to cope with tourists if they are recognised as locals by people around town. Because of the generally stable nature of the community in Kaikoura and its small size, locals' senses of identity are well maintained. Observations indicate that locals seldom walk through the town centre without stopping to talk to someone. In addition, shopkeepers know the locals and, in spite of what some locals say about shopkeepers serving tourists in preference to locals, locals are generally well treated by shop owners. Thus, the small size of the community is potentially an important factor in influencing the way that the community as a whole view tourism and the way that they adapt to it.

Chapter 8

Tourism Planning

8.1 Introduction

So far, there has been little community level planning for tourism in Kaikoura so that the current form of tourism is largely accidental. Some residents go as far as to say that tourism found Kaikoura rather than vice versa. There is also a feeling amongst some local people that tourism is now at a crossroads in the area, but the problem is deciding which way to go. This lack of forward planning is reflected in the following discussion:

What do you think the feeling is in Kaikoura in terms of where they are and where they want to go?

Well they don't know. There is no planning. I'm one of those planning people and there are no plans and we have no plans, there are no plans! People don't know. They're just hoping Whale Watch will continue to market overseas for the people that come along. Even KITI has no plan, the Council has no plan, business people have no plan.

This lack of planning results from several factors. Few people in the community have considered what planning for tourism might actually entail. It is unclear who should be doing the planning for tourism and where the resources needed for that planning should come from. In addition to these problems, there is little in the current planning system which enables communities to look ahead and think about what they want to see in their area. Currently, most planning is done through the Resource Management Act (1991), and the focus of this piece of legislation is on the things that people do *not* want to see in the area. Lastly, when things are going well in town, there is little incentive for local people to spend time and money thinking about the future. Many people also feel that there is not much point in participating in the political process because they will make little difference to the outcomes. These factors all add to the difficulties of planning for tourism in Kaikoura.

8.2 Propensity to Participate in Tourism Planning

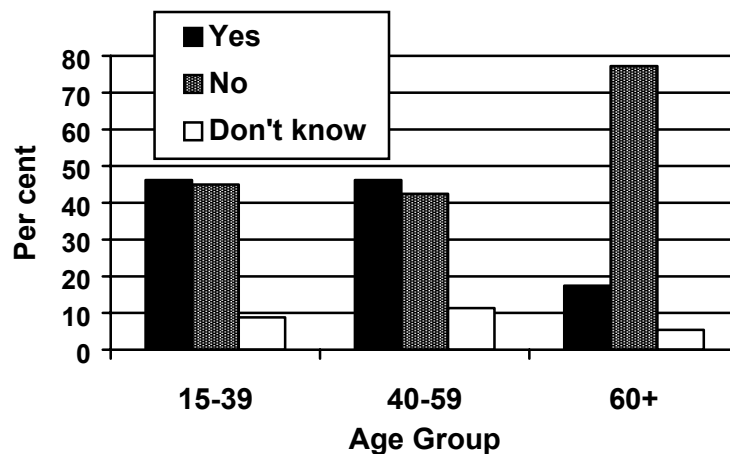


Figure 9 **Age Group by Propensity to Participate in Planning for Tourism**

Respondents were asked “if you had the opportunity, would you participate in tourism planning?” Figure 9 indicates the results from that question. It seems unlikely that all respondents who expressed interest in being involved in tourism planning would actually participate, since there are already mechanisms through which they can participate in the planning for their district and very few choose to do so, according to the Council. However, the question at least indicates how open respondents are to the idea that they might participate. Interestingly, the older age groups who appear to benefit the least and perceive the greatest number of costs are also the age group who were least inclined to say that they would participate in planning. Comments that often accompanied the response included statements like “I’m retired so it is no concern of mine” or “tourism has nothing to do with me”.

This is indicative of several things. First, an older woman with whom I discussed this finding said the large amount of social and economic change in New Zealand over the last 15 years made it seem as if there was little point in trying to participate in planning or politics, as those in power ignore what general citizens think. Second, many people in the community are aware of the negative impacts of tourism in their area, but they still feel that tourism is nothing to do with them because they do not work in that sector. Third, some older folk feel that they will not have to put up with the problems for long (because of their age) and so they do not really have the right to participate in directing the future of Kaikoura. It appears, therefore, that the older age groups feel that they should not be active members of the community and that they do not have much to offer.

A fourth factor is that many people do not really understand the process associated with the Resource Management Act 1991. Business developers who deal with the Resource Management Act all the time are very aware of how they can make it work for them. This puts local people with little experience of the process and with little money available, at a distinct disadvantage. It appears from talking to individuals in other areas about their experience of the Resource Management Act and the way it works, that residents need to understand how to make the process work for them. Although the Resource Management Act provides for public participation, the reality is that because of a lack of knowledge and a lack of finance, small communities like Kaikoura with low incomes and education levels are ill equipped to participate on an equal footing with incoming developers.

An additional problem is that the Resource Management Act was aimed at managing the environmental effects of developments, however, there is much less scope in the Act for dealing with social and cultural effects (Memon and Perkins, 1993). In addition, the Act’s provision for flexibility (aimed at streamlining the development process), means that developments are looked at on a case by case basis (Gleeson, 1996). This process makes it difficult to look at tourism development as a whole. Instead, individual developments are considered separately as they are put forward by developers one at a time. Some scope for viewing tourism as a whole exists in the development of the District Plan (produced every ten years), however, the focus on effects means that people must think about what they do *not* want to see in their area and there is little scope for a discussion of what they *do* want to see. Furthermore, the functioning of the District Plan depends on residents thinking about what

might develop in that time, and this is often a difficult task. For example, when the District Plan was developed ten years ago, Kaikoura people had little idea that tourism would become important in the area, and so there was little thought given to what developers might want to do in the area, or what locals themselves might want from tourism.

There are a number of external and internal issues that face the community at the present time, including the development of a hotel on the Peninsula, the effect that the development of a ferry terminal at Clifford Bay might have on Kaikoura, and the fact that Kaikoura has already been considered as a port for fast ferries from Wellington. However, there does not appear to be any forum in which the community as a whole can debate them. In many cases, it appears that outside developers are the ones calling the shots and the community are just waiting to see what will happen next. While people are talking amongst themselves to a small extent, there is little canvassing of local opinion and little public debate. The Council are the obvious institution to facilitate this kind of discussion, however, it is not clear who in the Council should do this job for tourism.

Chapter 9

Discussion and Recommendations

9.1 Introduction

Kaikoura has had some level of domestic tourism for many years, however, those tourists had little impact because they were small in number, culturally and socially similar to locals, and many of them were frequent repeat visitors. International tourism began to increase in 1988, when the first whalewatching venture got underway. Since that time, tourism has grown into a large sector of the local economy. At this stage, ten years after the first whalewatching operation began, people in Kaikoura remain generally positive about tourism. However, groups within the community experience impacts in very different ways. The following paragraphs summarise the major findings for this research and compare it with the findings of tourism research in other places.

9.2 Summary and Discussion

Tourism in Kaikoura has grown as a result of several factors. First, Kaikoura's environment is both spectacular and geographically unusual. The continental shelf drops off close to the Kaikoura coast, bringing a range of marine life within easy reach of shore. It is the abundance of marine life that provides the major attraction for most overnight visitors to the area. The rugged and rocky coastline, and the nearby mountains, offer many opportunities for diving, climbing, hunting, tramping and boating. These popular forms of outdoor recreation have provided the basis of past visitation by New Zealanders and may provide opportunities for future tourism development.

Technological change has made travel and communications easier in recent years so that even geographically isolated places such as Kaikoura are easily contacted in seconds using computers, telephones, email and the world wide web. At the same time, it is becoming cheaper and easier to visit the more isolated and distant parts of the globe - a fact which has benefited New Zealand tourism. These two factors provide Kaikoura with increasingly easy access to international tourism markets. A third very important factor produced the need for the industry and that is economic restructuring. Economic restructuring has also focused the attention of people on the need for employment, a factor which underlies their enthusiasm for tourism.

9.2.1 Local Benefits from Tourism

While many of these external factors had a major influence on the development of tourism in Kaikoura, there are also many local factors that have affected, and continue to affect, the development of tourism in the area. One of the most obvious changes that occurred in this community is the change in status of local Maori. Restructuring in Kaikoura was especially hard on local Maori, who were generally not employers and who were, therefore, most

vulnerable to the concomitant loss of employment. By developing Whale Watch, local Maori moved from a position of relative powerlessness, and low socio-economic status, to become a major employer and economic force in the community. The development of tourism has been of major benefit to local Maori.

Of importance to residents are the economic, employment and social benefits of tourism. Tourism is bringing significant money into the area and is providing work for many people, although the amount and regularity of the work can be a problem for individuals who rely on it as their main source of income. In addition, and perhaps because, tourism is still in its infancy in Kaikoura, many locals enjoy meeting tourists and develop ongoing friendships.

Pearce (1990) noted a similar phenomenon in his article on farm tourism in New Zealand, where farm hosts prefer to treat their guests as friends and in some instances they even had people back to stay free of charge because they had become friends. Pearce also found that some hosts visited their guests when they themselves travelled. Writing in the USA, Ap and Crompton (1993) also found that people who enthusiastically embraced tourism enjoyed meeting new people. Some of their sample also talked about ongoing relationships with visitors to the area, although the tourists in that study were mainly domestic and so ongoing relationships would have been easy to maintain through repeat visitation. These findings are reflected in Kaikoura. Even though most tourist-host encounters have an economic basis, much of the pay-back for locals is in the non-economic rewards.

9.2.2 The Personal Sustainability of Tourism

For some groups of people, constant encounters with tourists can be very stressful. This is highlighted by the high turnover of moteliere in Kaikoura. This group are all in the small business category and most of them do not hire many staff because the small size of the business makes it difficult. This means that they are on call 24 hours per day all year round unless they make an effort to leave home and go on holiday. This is a stressful regime as indicated by the fact that moteliere do not generally stay in that business for more than three to five years. As tourism becomes a major part of the New Zealand economy, this lack of personal sustainability could be of some concern, particularly as the friendliness of people is something that many tourists desire in a destination.

Some individuals have developed strategies that help them cope with the amount of contact that they have. It seems necessary for people to have private space and time in their lives, which means that the individuals who are less able to maintain their personal space are most likely to be the ones that suffer the greatest stress. Separation can be either mental, temporal or physical in nature. In a sense, part of the increased ability of local people to deal with tourists in their town could be interpreted as a psychological separation of self from the mass of strange others which occurs when they feel identified as locals (Brown and Giles, 1994). Social identity is thus a form of separation. Similarly, having a workplace separate from the home can help individuals maintain a physical separation from tourists at some times of the day. In comparison, individuals who live in the same place in which they work will have

more difficulty in maintaining physical separation between themselves and tourists. Thus, people running small bed and breakfasts, who have visitors in their own living space are likely to experience stress sooner than people who run motels and who have a living space separated off from the guests' living space. However, constant "invasions" of that space through mechanisms such as the telephone, or the buzzer which visitors ring to get attention, can still create stress for moteliers.

Another factor important in managing the stress of long hours of face-to-face contact is the voluntariness of that contact and the level of control that an individual feels over the amount of contact that they have. Small bed and breakfast houses do not require the same investment as larger accommodation houses, and the smaller bed and breakfast enterprises seldom provide main form of income. Therefore, it is easier for small places to maintain their separation temporally by having nights where they do not have guests. People in these smaller businesses are generally not dependent on tourism as their only source of income, and so they are able to exercise a greater degree of control over when they have guests. In comparison, moteliers generally have more invested in their business and that business is usually the main form of family income. This dependence means that they cannot put up "no vacancy" signs when they want time off. Thus, moteliers have a greater sense of dependence on tourists than people in smaller establishments which, in turn, makes the contact that moteliers have with tourists much less voluntary on a day-to-day basis. The mere fact of being on call for long hours may further decrease an individual's sense of control over the encounters that they have.

Other strategies that business people have for maintaining their psychological health can be interpreted as ways of minimising their involvement with visitors, while at the same time managing that involvement to provide good levels of service. Those who stay in business longer tend to have slightly bigger businesses and therefore, they are able to employ staff during the winter while they go away for an annual holiday. Even so, moteliers I talked to, who had been in business for two to three years, mentioned high levels of stress during the summer months. It appears, therefore, that to be a tourist operator in the long term requires the individual to either withdraw from high levels of customer contact, or to find ways to maintain at least some psychological separation which satisfies the needs of the tourist but which involves the host giving less of "themselves" away in the transaction.

9.2.3 Seasonality

Seasonality is a factor that impacts on individuals and on the community. A low season provides relief for some members of the community, while for others, it may create as much stress as the high season. The low season in Kaikoura provides the community with breathing space. During the winter, locals can reclaim their town, talk to people on the street, slow their pace of life and park easily anywhere in town. However, the fluctuation in visitor numbers increases the need for individuals to work long hours during the tourist season which wears people down. They do this largely for financial reasons, because they have to make enough money in the summer to see them through the low winter months.

The low season also allows some operators to have an extended holiday and the chance to travel overseas during the winter months. In fact, it appears that, for residents who can afford it, tourism in the town has increased their propensity to travel overseas. Going away depends on either finding someone to mind the business or on closing the business down for the time that people are away. Both strategies are used in Kaikoura.

Not all residents find that the low season is relaxing. Owners of small businesses, who do not feel that they can close down for the winter, find that a paucity of customers makes it difficult to employ staff, so they have to cover the long working hours themselves. This means that owners of small, new businesses may actually work longer hours during the winter than they do during the summer. In addition, the low season is too long for most people employed in tourism. Either they do not have work during this period (and so financially they have a problem), or they find that work gets to be really boring towards the end of the winter.

Another feature that seasonality brings to the town is the in-migration of tourism workers at the beginning of the tourism season and their subsequent out-migration at the end of it. For some of the people left behind, this amounts to the loss of good friends from the town and this in itself can be quite difficult to manage. For others, the in-migration - out-migration seasonal pattern adds to some locals' perceptions that people who work in tourism are outsiders. The seasonality of tourism can, therefore, accentuate existing community divisions, which lays the foundations for future community conflict over tourism developments. This movement of people in and out of the area also means that some unemployment is effectively exported from the area during the off-season.

The patterns created by seasonality may also result in locals benefiting less from tourism than they had hoped. For a local resident, working for wages in tourism may not be as good as it first appears, particularly if that person is trying to support a family, and most of the jobs available are largely seasonal in nature and not highly paid. It is very unlikely that summer wage earnings from tourism would tide a family over the winter months, when work is scarce. Thus, the generation of local employment, which is one of the major reasons why communities want tourism, may not be of the form or type expected when tourism first develops. This problem is exacerbated by the fact that people who gain employment need good interpersonal skills which not everyone has. A lack of these kind of skills can mean that local unemployed people may be unable to work in tourism. These observations suggest that tourism interests in Kaikoura may be best challenged to think about promoting the area to increase domestic visitation during the winter months rather than focusing on increasing summer visitation, which will only accentuate the current problems caused by seasonality.

9.2.4 Community Adaptations

Those members of the community who do not enjoy seeing lots of people around town cope with the high tourist season by either staying away from town or by only visiting town when they know it will not be busy, such as before 9.00a.m. This means that the most commonly cited impacts of tourism are relatively easy to cope with for most people. In addition, the strong sense of identity that locals have and the fact that locals usually recognise each other adds to people's ability to cope with the negative aspects of tourism.

9.2.5 Kaikoura's Experience of Tourism Development

Overall, Kaikoura's experience of tourism development has parallels with the experiences of other communities around the world. For example, Brown and Giles (1994) note that locals adapt to crowding by avoiding town, withdrawing into the homes and changing their normal patterns of activity. Ap and Crompton (1993) found that locals in an American tourist town display a range of reactions to tourism and tourists from "embracement" to "withdrawal". Embracement occurred where individuals enjoyed the presence of tourists and saw it as a major personal benefit. In comparison, withdrawal occurred when locals avoided town during the busy times by staying home or going on holiday. Some individuals moved away from the town permanently to escape tourism.

The Kaikoura community thus, does not have a single experience of tourism. Rather, the community is a collection of groups who experience tourism in very different ways. For the younger age groups, tourism represents a means to live in Kaikoura, enjoy the local lifestyle and the many outdoor recreation opportunities associated with the area. This group also enjoy meeting new people and the faster pace of life that tourism offers. For some in the older age groups, the experience is generally less positive. Tourism detracts from their lifestyle and recreation opportunities. The crowding and faster pace of life are not usually appreciated, and the high quality recreation experiences such as fishing, diving, walking and solitude, are threatened by the increasing number of people in the area. The benefits of having good cafes and transport services do not quite make up for the perceived loss of their desired lifestyle. Similarly, there are a large group of residents who see both the benefits and costs of tourism to themselves and to the community. For these people, tourism is alright the way it is now, but there is considerable concern over the future of Kaikoura and the way that future tourism developments are handled.

9.2.6 Kaikoura and the Tourist Area Life Cycle

The tourism literature highlights the importance of residents' perceptions of tourism, and it appears that residents in Kaikoura are fairly positive about it. When the various dimensions of tourism are considered, Kaikoura shows all the signs of being at Butler's (1980) *involvement* stage of tourism development. *Involvement* is characterised by the positive attitude of residents, and an inclination towards further tourism development. At this stage also, tourism is mostly locally owned and operated and, therefore, is fairly small scale, with the benefits of tourism spread relatively well throughout the community. These characteristics are currently present in Kaikoura where there is a very high degree of local ownership and a high number of small, owner-operated enterprises. This spreads the economic benefits of tourism throughout the community, although not as much as some locals would like. Many local people, with their strong focus on employment, want more tourism development as a means of solving the area's unemployment problems.

However, the suggestion of a new (outside owned) hotel development and the talk of Kaikoura becoming a possible wharf for fast ferries from Wellington indicates that tourism development in Kaikoura could begin to take on new characteristics over the next few years. Butler (1980: 8) suggests that following involvement is a *development* stage where:

Local involvement and control of development will decline rapidly. Some locally provided facilities will have disappeared, being superceded by larger, more elaborate, and more up-to-date facilities provided by external organisations, particularly for visitor accommodation. ... Changes in the physical appearance of the local area will be noticeable and it can be expected that not all of them will be welcomed or approved by all of the local population.

The possibility of new tourism projects funded from outside the community may indicate the beginning of this phase of development in Kaikoura. This is clearly something that many residents do not want to see happen, however, at the same time, the community is also constantly thinking about employment opportunities in the area and the attraction of tourism development on this basis alone is, for some individuals at least, very high.

9.3 Planning and the Future

In many ways it appears that the problems and issues facing tourism in Kaikoura have not really changed significantly since Warren and Taylor looked at the industry in 1994. Infrastructure, co-operation and planning are still of concern to many in the industry as they clearly were in 1994 and it still appears as if there is no obvious way for this small rural area with its limited resources to negotiate these problems.

It appears that the community has given little thought to ensuring that the desired benefits of tourism are maximised and the problems are avoided or minimised. Currently, the only “planning” for tourism is undertaken by tourism operators focused mostly on trying to attract more tourists into the area. This seems to be largely because tourism in Kaikoura has developed without any sort of planning in the past. After a decade of rapid tourism growth, the community now needs clear leadership and public debate for tourism planning.

A further problem that Kaikoura faces is the small size of its council. While having a council in the local area gives people sense of autonomy, which can be important in shaping their perceptions of tourism (Peck and Lepie, 1989), the small number of ratepayers puts severe restrictions on the resource base of the council. The small size of the council and the nature of the community also make it less attractive as a long term option for most council staff and so the Kaikoura District Council has a short institutional memory. These factors all contribute to make the Council less able to take a clear leadership role in tourism planning.

9.3.1 Development Issues

Of importance to the immediate future of Kaikoura is the likelihood of a hotel development up on the Kaikoura Peninsula. Many people in Kaikoura like the idea of attracting higher paying tourists and these are the group that the investors are hoping to attract to the area. Furthermore, many locals feel that Kaikoura needs a larger establishment. However, there are a few people in the community who express concern about the outside investment involved in the venture and a few contest the view that this kind of development itself will be beneficial for the community as a whole. Whatever transpires in the near future, this development

appears to be a first step into what may become the *development* phase of tourism in Kaikoura. For that reason alone, it is important that the community learn something from the way other places have experienced tourism development, however, at this stage, there is not much of that type of information that is readily available in a user-friendly format for local communities.

9.3.2 Community Divisions

A large part of this report was given to understanding the community and its structures. While most locals think of Kaikoura as close knit, it is a town with many divisions. This is not to say that the community is “divided” in the sense of lots of infighting, however, the divisions are likely to take on much more importance during times of change when there is a need for people to work together to adapt to the changes as best they can. During times of change, conflict can bring differences in thinking to the surface and in a divided community, this can derail the development of high quality outcomes. It will be important for this community to use the differences between community groups, while also remembering how much they all have in common. The common goal is to formulate plans that achieve a consensus of support.

The most marginalised group in the town at the current time appears to be retirees who are not always positive in their assessment of tourism. The feeling in the community is that they cannot expect the town to stand still and that they are only thinking of their own interests. However, ignoring the voices of this group only serves to make the group feel less a part of local tourism outcomes and perhaps even more negative in their assessment of those outcomes. Furthermore, the things that these community members are saying are things that are likely to become more serious as tourism develops further. Attention to some of these problems now may actually benefit the whole community, as they can find ways to manage problems before they become unwieldy. The difficulty for this community is in finding a way to begin the process of planning for the future of tourism.

There has been very little sign of co-operation across the community in the past, except in times of disaster, such as in the case of the 1993/94 floods. However, if the community are to develop good tourism and keep local people feeling in control of development, they will need to co-operate. This is even more important in the light of the shortcomings of current planning legislation and policy, the constraints on local leadership and the resource problems currently before the Council. Without some outside help, the Kaikoura community is unlikely to manage tourism to the best of its ability. While there are many talented and energetic people in the community, that talent needs to be channelled so that these people have the tools to manage their own future.

Uncertainty about what developers might finally propose, a lack of financial resources, and a much-divided community means that public discussions really need to be facilitated by an outsider trained to do the job, who can look impartially at the outcomes. Ideally, a facilitator should also be familiar with the issues associated with tourism and tourism development and planning, so that they can also inform locals about the experiences of other places in this regard. It looks almost impossible for anyone local to do this job. However, the community also need what Braithwaite et al. (1998) call “champions”, who can act as advocates for the planning process and for the outsiders involved in helping the community. These people need

to come from different parts of the community so that it is not just one part of it that is seen to be taking the lead. The public debate of these kinds of issues is going to become important if the community are to have any measure of control over what happens in Kaikoura. What is difficult is to know what forms that debate should take and who exactly should finance and facilitate it.

Without outside help, it seems that there is a high chance of the gradual loss of the current community stability and the people for whom tourism is currently being developed are not the ones who will benefit most in the long term. The important question in relation to tourism therefore is:

- who are the community?
- why do they want tourism? and
- how can they manage it to achieve what they want for the least amount of negative impact?

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Legislation

The Resource Management Act, 1991.

The Marine Mammals Protection Act, 1978.

Appendix 1

Residents' Questionnaire

APPENDIX 1

Host questionnaire

Int Date time :

Introduction

Good evening /afternoon.

My name is _____, and I am from Lincoln University. You may have heard that we are studying tourism here in Kaikoura. Would it be convenient to speak to the person (who regularly lives) in the household, over fifteen years of age, who has the next birthday?

If the correct person is out: phone back : date and time

Repeat introduction : if necessary.... Is it convenient to ask you a few questions ... (or is there a more suitable time when I could arrange to call you back.)

phone back : date and time

This questionnaire is in 3 parts, and will take approximately 10 minutes to answer. Please note that your answers will be kept confidential and we do not need to know your name. You do not have to answer every question.

THE FIRST SECTION : asks some general questions about how long you have lived and worked in Kaikoura

1) How many years have you lived in Kaikoura?

	yrs
	months

If only temporary, record how many months of the last year were spent in Kaikoura.

2. Were you born in Kaikoura?

1. Yes 2. No

3. Before you moved here, had you been regularly visiting Kaikoura?

1. Yes 2. No

if yes: How many years have you been regularly visiting Kaikoura for?

	years
--	-------

Do you expect to be living in Kaikoura in 10 years time?

1. Yes 2. No

3. Probably

4. Maybe 5. Don't know

--

What are the things that you like about Kaikoura?

(DO NOT SUGGEST OPTIONS. Rank in order as answers are given)

Peace and Quiet/ Space/ Isolation	
Knowing people in town	
Having family here	
Climate/ weather	
Spectacular scenery/ landscape/ countryside	
Its a safe place to live	
The close knit community/ friendly people	
There's work here	
Access to natural environment	
lifestyle	
Other	

A) If you were in Kaikoura 5 years ago, what was your main form of employment?

B) What is is you main form of employment now?

Not applicable ⁸⁸

Fishing/ fish factory ¹

Tourism ²

Other services ³

Dairy farming/ factory ⁴

sheep/cattle/deer farming ⁵

Retail Services ⁶

MOW/ telephone exchange ⁷

Local government ⁸

Railways ⁹

Other govt. Depts ¹⁰

Homemaker/ housewife ¹¹

Retired ¹²

Unemployed ¹³

5yrs	now

Other (specify)

Have you worked in tourism in the last year? (✓ as appropriate)

1. Yes 2. No

If yes: About how many hours did you work during summer and winter.

Summer

hours

Winter

hours

Does anyone else in your household work full time or part-time in tourism?

1. Full time 2. part-time

Person 1

Person 2

Person 3

THIS SECOND SECTION of the survey is designed to gauge your overall reactions to tourists and the tourism industry in Kaikoura.

For you personally, have there been any benefits from tourism?

1. Yes 2. No 3. Unsure

If yes, what are they?

Ben1

Ben2

Ben3

Ben4

For you personally, has tourism had any negative impacts?

1. Yes 2. No 3. Unsure

If yes what are they?

Impact 1

Impact 2

Impact 3

Impact 4

Do you think the community as a whole benefits from tourism in Kaikoura ?

1. Yes 2. No 3. unsure

☐

If yes what are they?

Comben1

Comben2

Comben3

Comben4

What is your greatest concern about tourism in Kaikoura?

Over the next 5 years, do you think that tourism in Kaikoura will:

1. Decrease

2.increase

3. stay much the same

☐

Last year the district council's rates increase was presented as being necessary for tourism development. Which of these statements BEST applies to you?

1. I was **happy to pay** my rate increase.

2. I would have **preferred to have paid lower rates** increase but paid without complaining.

3. I have **complained** to the KDC about paying my rates increase.

☐

What is the reason for your action?

Not direct ratepayer (✓)

☐

In what ways, if any, has your daily life changed because of tourism?

UNPROMPTED

change

change

change

change

If needed, prompt:

What about when you go to town? And/ Or If the respondent works with tourists: have you made any adjustments to family life because of the hours you work?

PROMPTED

change1

change2

change3

change4

The next questions are about how much contact you have with visitors to Kaikoura.

Overall how much *general contact* do you have with visitors to Kaikoura during the tourist season? *Read out options*

1. none
2. Very little
3. Some
4. frequent

When you are *at work*, how much contact do you have with tourists?

Read out options

1. none
2. Very little
3. Some
4. frequent

Are there any particular types of tourist that you :

Like

Dislike

The next section is about the future of tourism in Kaikoura.

On the following scale of 1-10, where would you place yourself?

1 = there is already too much tourism in Kaikoura

10 = Kaikoura should develop tourism as much as possible

Record any explanations below (*Ask why if no explanation is given*)

Regarding facilities that benefit tourists and locals (for example breakwaters, slipways, landscaping), what proportion should be paid by ratepayers and what should be paid by tourist businesses?

Council	Business

you may need to prompt to get a proportion - eg. so 50-50? Record DK if they cannot decide

If you had the opportunity, would you participate in tourism planning?

1. Yes 2. No 3. Unsure

--

IF YES,

how would prefer to be involved in tourism planning? *NO PROMPT*

Please record a first and second option (if offered)?

	Public meetings	1	
	By objecting to developments as they arise	2	
	By attending council meetings	3	
	By an ongoing public advisory group	4	
	By surveys from time to time	5	
	Talking to to councillors	6	
	The public do not need to be involved	7	
Other			

THE QUESTIONS IN THIS FINAL SECTION will allow us to check that we have a good cross section of the community. Some of these questions are personal, but remember that your answers will be kept confidential and you remain anonymous.

19) What age group are you in? (Read options until stopped)

- | | |
|------------------|------------------|
| 1. 15-19 | 2. 20-24 |
| 3. 25-29 | 4. 30-34 |
| 5. 35-39 | 6. 40-44 |
| 7. 45-49 | 8. 50-54 |
| 9. 55-59 | 10. 60-64 |
| 11. 65-69 | 12. 70 + |

☐

What is your ethnicity?

1. Kati Kuri
2. Kai Tahu (not Kati Kuri)
3. NZ Pakeha /European/ NewZealander
4. Other NZ Maori (*if possible, specify Iwi group*) _____
6. Both Maori and Pakeha /European
7. Other
(specify) _____

☐

Are you 1. male or 2. female

☐

What is your highest educational qualification? (✓ only one)

1. Some high school
2. School Certificate
3. 6th form certificate/ UE
4. 7th Form
5. Apprenticeship/ trade qualification
6. TOPS/ KCCE or similar
7. University degree / polytech/ teachers college/ nursing
8. Other (please specify) _____

☐

In the last year, what income group was your *household* in (read until respondent stops you)?

1. Nil income or loss

2. \$1-\$5,000

3. \$5,001-\$10,000

4. \$10,001-\$15,000

6. \$20,001-\$30,000

8. \$40,001-\$50,000

10. \$70,000 - \$100,000

12. Don't know

5. \$15,001-\$20,000

7. \$30,001-\$40,000

9. \$50,001-\$70,000

11. \$100,001+

13. refused

Thank you for your time and co-operation.